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27 June 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2158

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VIEWS OF HUNGARIANS, OTHERS ON ROMANIAN HISTORY REFUTED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 8, 25 Apr 83 pp 36-37

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Hadrian Daicoviciu: "The Power of Historical Truth"]

[Text] Romanian historiography has succeeded in essentially restoring the picture of the nation's remote past not only in the field of economic and social development but also in that of the ethnic and linguistic facts. It is known today that the formation of the Daco-Getae as a people took place in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area, against the background of the Indo-Europeanization of the southeastern regions of our continent as a result of penetration of the pastoral populations from the steppes north of the Black Sea. The historical development of the latter led to the formation of large ethnic communities that were attested much later by the written sources: Greeks in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula, Illyrians in the western part, and Thracians in the eastern regions. A differentiation within the numerous Thracian people resulted in the emergence of their two main branches, that history has recorded, namely the Thracians properly speaking and the Daco-Getae.

The permanent home of the Daco-Getae largely coincides with the territories later inhabited by Romanians. Born as a people in that geographic area, the Daco-Getae can be regarded as autochthonous in their country, which they never had to leave. There they defied the storms of history, defending their land and gradually assimilating the foreign groups that succeeded in penetrating and settling in Dacia, the Illyrians, Scythians, Celts etc. In the time of Burebista and Decebal, the period of the Dacian state, the Dacian country was characterized by a real ethnic unity as well as a noteworthy unity of civilization.

The Daco-Roman wars at the beginning of the second century A.D. had decisive historical consequences for Dacia. The Dacian state was destroyed, and a large part of it was converted to an imperial province occupied by Roman troops and heavily colonized with Latin-speaking elements. But the Dacian people did not perish. Some of them went on living in the new province under the new rule. Other tribes (Costobocians, Carpians and Great Dacians) lived in the regions of Dacia that the Romans did not occupy or colonize. The continuity of the autochthons is fully proved by epigraphic documents and archeological remains both in the province of Dacia and in Dobrogea, which was annexed by the Roman Empire earlier than Dacia north of the Danube.

Coexistence of the autochthonous Dacians with the colonists of Rome in Trajan's province or Dobrogea led both to a merger of the two civilizations, Dacian and Roman, and to Romanization of the Dacians, that is the victory of the Latin language. Having been imposed in the conquered and colonized regions, vulgar Latin was itself enriched with a number of Dacian words that are preserved, at least in part, in the Romanian language of today. At the time of Aurelian's withdrawal (271-275) Dacia was a profoundly and irreversibly Romanized province, and its Latin-speaking population was composed of both autochthons and the descendants of the colonists.

The official abandonment of Trajan's province did not mean the end of Roman life north of the Danube at all. A large part of the provincial population remained in place, and very often even in the old settlements. Moreover in certain periods, under Constantine I and Justinian, the empire regained a certain area along the left bank of the Danube. Dobrogea continued to belong to the empire until the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

By removing the boundary that had divided the Dacian world, Aurelian's withdrawal enabled the provincial population to mingle with the free Dacians, resulting in the gradual Romanization of the latter. Meanwhile the vulgar Latin language was evolving toward the earliest form of Romanian, Proto-Romanian or Old Romanian. This process may be considered ended in the eighth century, which means that from that time on we can speak of the Romanian people as distinct from other Romanic peoples.

Clearly the ethnic origin of the Romanians in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area presupposes Dacian continuity under Roman rule and Daco-Roman continuity after Dacia was officially abandoned. But the principle of continuity is no theoretical one. It has been fully demonstrated by Romanian historiography with many and varied archeological, historical, epigraphic, linguistic and other proofs. These proofs refute the theory of the demographic vacuum in Dacia that originated with Robert Roesler.

Roesler's theory is profoundly unscientific and was rejected from the start by the best specialists in ancient history. At a time when archeological evidence of continuity was entirely lacking, famous scholars like Julius Jung and Theodor Mommsen saw in the Romanian people the descendants of the Daco-Romans. Later on as the arguments in favor of continuity were multiplied and diversified, the principle was also accepted by other great specialists like Franz Altheim, Leon Homo or Carl Patsch. As the Romanist Rudolf Windisch of Freiburg University (FRG) said recently, Roesler's theory no longer amounts to anything today but a completely outmoded stage in the study of Romania's past. I would add that support of it or of other such theories indicates either gross ignorance or actual bad faith.

Under these circumstances it is amazing that statements are now appearing at times in the technical literature of some countries that blatantly contradict the historical truth, as for example the assertion that Decebal's state was populated by many other peoples besides Dacians, that its basic population was Slavic, and that its border areas were inhabited solely by Slavs. Don't the proponents of this view know that the first Slavic archeological remains on Romanian territory date from the second half of the sixth century A.D., about 450 years after

Decebal's time? When it is stated, for example, that Aurelian ceded all Dacia to the barbarians, we must suppose that the author of that statement does not know that the earliest traces of Goths in the former Trajan's province date from 330-340, for how could that statement be explained otherwise? Sometimes it still happens that old assertions of Roesler's are repeated, such as the one to the effect that all the Romans in Dacia were moved to Moesia. It is strange that neither the complete absence of traces of any such massive shift of population nor the many proofs of the Daco-Romans' continuity in their homes do not bother some authors and do not deter them from following the unscientific theories. And the theory that Romanization of the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea regions led to formation of two distinct Romanic peoples is equally strange and even less scientific.

The theory of the demographic vacuum in Dacia is particularly welcomed by certain irredentist circles in the western countries, who are conducting a propaganda campaign that has nothing in common with science. In the summer of 1980 a so-called Committee on Transylvania published a pamphlet in the United States containing various materials (I say "materials" because some of them certainly cannot be called studies) intended to substantiate Roesler's old views. Although the editors of the pamphlet (Louis L. Loete, Stephen Borsody, Nandor Dreisziger, Adam Makkai and George Schoepflin) stated that their purpose "is to make several scientific analyses of the Transylvania problem available to the general public," their work has nothing in common with science.

Dennis Deletant quite rightly criticized the said pamphlet in THE SLAVONIC AND EAST-EUROPEAN REVIEW No 59, 3 July 1981, to the effect that most of it is tendentious and that it does a disservice to those who want to investigate. Concerning Georg Stadtmueller's contribution to the pamphlet, making Romanians the descendants of shepherds who came from south of the Danube in the 11th-13th centuries and settled in the southern Carpathians, the reviewer rightly comments, "It is hard to believe those shepherds were the only ancestors of the Romanians of today, numbering 20 million people. Such a numerous population calls for numerous ancestors, and if it is believed that the Romanians' ancestors were the Latin-speaking inhabitants who migrated from south of the Danube between the 11th and 13th centuries into the region now inhabited by Romanians, it is surprising that there is no contemporary reference in the historical sources, especially the Byzantine ones, to what would necessarily have been a large-scale migration across the Danube."

I would like to point out a fact that I consider significant in connection with the pamphlet published by the so-called Committee on Transylvania.

Two of the seven materials in the pamphlet are political in nature and have absolutely nothing to do with investigation of the past. Another is a translation of the comments at a "roundtable" published in 1979 in the Budapest journal HISTORIA and critically analyzed at the time with perfectly justified remarks in MAGAZIN ISTORIC. Georg Stadtmueller's contribution, "The Albano-Romanian Migrations (11th-13th Centuries)," is a chapter from his book "History of Southeast Europe" published in 1950 and republished with no changes in 1976, meaning that it takes practically no account of the postwar discoveries. The contribution of Jean Csonka, professor at the Higher School of Commerce in Neuchatel (Switzerland), is a tendentious criticism of the principle of continuity by a layman and



containing many errors. An 1886 article on the "nationalities" in Roman Dacia by Laszlo Rethy, then director of the Budapest National Museum, is also published, and it was obviously written on the documentary level of the end of the last century. And finally, a linguist hiding behind the pseudonym Andre du Nay discusses the origins of the Romanian nation and language in a tendentious and biased fashion.

Obviously there is no contemporary specialist in ancient history or archeology and that is not difficult to understand. Clearly the authors failed to find one real specialist willing to sign his name to "studies" written in the spirit of Roesler's discredited theory. Even the specialist in Romance linguistics preferred to use a pseudonym.

This is not an isolated situation. At the end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981 the well-known West German daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG published a discussion occasioned by the appearance of Viktor Meier's article "How 'Dacian' is Romania?" on 4 October 1980. Without being a specialist and without taking any entirely clear stand on the question of continuity, the West German journalist acknowledges that if the Romanians had come into their country solely by immigration they could not have assimilated so many foreign tribes and populations, especially the Slavs. Furthermore, he said, "There are actually archeological discoveries which are to be taken seriously and which prove a continuity of life in Dacia for the period after the year 271."

Several of the daily's readers chose to express their opinions about the question of the Romanians' origin in letters that the editors published. Some supported the theory of continuity and others opposed it. It is interesting and significant that with one exception alone, only laymen came out against continuity. Their information is fragmentary as can be and their opinions are often laughable. I quote, not for interest but for humor, the opinion of one Dr Heinrich Feichter of Mainz, who thinks that when the Saxons settled in Transylvania there were no Romanians at all and that the problems of Romania's ancient history were clarified 50 years ago by the "classic work" of the physician Heinrich Siegmund of Medias, and that the very name of the capital of Dacia, Sarmisegetuza (The correct form is Sarmizegetusa), comes from the words "Sarai" (Sarmatians) and "Szeged" (Seghedin).

The exception is Donald McKay, professor of Central European history at Oxford University, but he is also poorly informed or biased. For him, "At the present level of linguistic knowledge and that of the archeological excavations, only the western Balkans and not the former Dacia (Transylvania and the Banat) can be the Wallachians' (Romanians') country of origin." Of course Dr McKay forgot to say what the Romanian archeological discoveries in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula are. As for his linguistic knowledge, another reader of the daily ridicules his claim to present "the latest results of philological science" when he has not "digested the old ones."

As contrasted with these completely unfounded opinions, the specialists who wrote the editors of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG took a serious and responsible stand. For instance Prof Dr Klaus Heitman of Heidelberg University said, among other things, "That the Romanians are 'Dacian' is as indisputable as the fact that the French are 'Gallic' and the Germans are 'Germanic.' Philological

science and ethnography have certain knowledge of the Dacian substratum of the Romanians and their culture." The principle of Daco-Roman continuity is no fable but a communis opinio of contemporary research. The passages about Romanians in Georg Stadtmueller's book "History of Southeastern Europe" do not represent any modern point of view at all. They are based on the Hungarian nationalist historiography of the Horthy period. On the other hand, in the 30 years since G. Stadtmueller's book was published the principle of continuity has received new confirmation, especially from the archeological investigations. For Dr Rudolf Windisch of Freiburg University the lexical elements common to Romanian and Albanian are due not to any alleged coexistence south of the Danube but to a common substratum, while Prof Dr Emmanuel Turczinsky of Bochum University thinks the theory of the Romanians' immigration into their country was concocted for political and not scientific reasons.

These situations are unquestionably indicative of the progress the correct, scientific theory of Dacian, Daco-Roman and Romanian continuity has made in international scientific opinion. The influence of Roesler's theory has been considerably diminished and affects only a small number of specialists today. The foreign specialists are more and more inclined to rally to the theory of continuity as their documentation is enriched and improved. I have no doubt that it will prevail, because it has all the power of historical truth. But it is our duty as Romanian historians to publicize (to a much greater extent than at present and as widely as possible) the discoveries that prove the Romanian people's continuity and autochthonous nature.

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## NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jan 83 pp 35-43

[Article by Shaban Baxhaku: "Scientific Work in the Field of Education Should Better Serve To Improve the Qualitative Level of the School"]

[Text] The 8th Party Congress and, in support of it, the June 1982 resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party, 'For the Further Increase in the Quality of the Teaching and Educational Work of the School,' assigned important tasks for our new school. These tasks, as the Party has made clear, are dictated not only by the specific internal development of education, the school and pedagogy, but first of all by the general economic, social, scientific and technical development of the whole of life in our country. They set forth as an urgent necessity, the broadening and further deepening of study work, the correct evaluation and effective application of its achievements in practice, in order that scientific work may better support, than it has until now, the activity of the school and that it may lead to the advancement of a solution to new problems which the dynamics of life and education itself produces in our country.

For a full and clear conception of study work in the field of the school and pedagogy

The studies, the activities of a generalized character and hitherto existing publications in the field of the school and pedagogy are a positive index of the development of our pedagogical thought and of efforts for the treatment and solution on a scientific basis, of problems of teaching and education, for the scientific elaboration and generalization of the progressive experience of our schools and teachers. These are integral parts of the work for the constant perfecting of the whole great complex of measures which constitute the essence of the further revolutionization of our school and a good foundation for the further broadening and deepening of scientific study work in the future.

In the studies, various general activities and publications, efforts have been made to resolve and concretize the theoretical scientific thought of the Party in the field of education and the school, to generalize its experience in the determination and application of a consistent Marxist-Leninist educational policy, to reflect and propagate the contribution of



Comrade Enver Hoxha in its maintenance, to treat and elaborate some partial problems in the perfecting of the content and methods of teaching and education, to know the psychological characteristics of pupils in a given age group, and the history and development of Albanian education and schools, etc.

Such publishing and research work has given its assistance in the correct treatment and solution of a series of school and pedagogical problems, in the creation of a healthy spirit and opinion for the requirements of our new revolutionized schools.

However, analyzing and evaluating hitherto existing work with a critical eye, in light of the directives of the 8th Party Congress and the June 1982 resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party, it must be said that with regard to the extent of the grasp of problems, especially with regard to the qualitative level of their treatment, from the standpoint of the scientific rigorousness of methods already used and particularly from the standpoint of the degree of influence on the constant improvement of teaching and educational work, scientific study work in the field of the school and pedagogy is still behind the requirements of the times.

Despite the achievements there has not been created a clear and full comprehension and conception of scientific study work in the field of the school and pedagogy, of its aims, objectives and definition, beginning with the school itself, with institutions of learning and pedagogy, and up to the Ministry of Education and Culture. This deficiency is expressed in the definition of the problematics and thematics of scientific work, in which are often included--in the form of orientations and tasks--themes which do not constitute an object of genuine experimental study work, minor themes on minor problems which do not correspond with what is required for a solution to fundamental tasks set forth for solution.

With all the improvements noted, the methods of scientific work are still poor, sometimes far from those of true scientific research. Generally absent is the use of pedagogical experiment, the utilization and elaboration at the necessary level of information from internal and external sources; new methods of scientific research are little known and used, and consequently the conclusions and recommendations do not always have the value of a scientific result, they sometimes simply express known opinions.

The further improvement of studies in the field of the school requires a fuller and clearer conception of this work from the Ministry of Education and Culture, from the Institute of Pedagogical Studies, as the main and most specialized centers in this field, from the departments of schools of higher education, particularly pedagogy and psychology, and especially from the mass of teachers, directors of schools, pedagogical offices, etc. The basis of this conception must always be the instruction of the Party that, for the conditions of our country, research work should be concentrated, above all, on implementation, in order that various improvements which will be made from time to time in the school will correspond to current developments and perspectives, will be prepared in advance from studies and will avoid any element of improvisation, practiciness and dilletantism, any grafting and patching of the new on the old.

This requires that the objectives of scientific work be clearly defined and, in the conclusions drawn from it, concrete recommendations for the work in school be made, in order that a constant improvement and development in the process of teaching and education be achieved. This also requires a rejection of that general treatment, poverty of ideas and wealth of phraseology which constitute a not infrequent phenomenon in the field of pedagogical studies.

The Party, at the 8th plenum of the Central Committee in June 1980, and in other documents after this, has directed and required that the main attention, in pedagogical studies as a whole, be devoted to problems of the content of the school, the content of informed and formulated processes which are developed in school and, closely linked with this, didactic means for their realization. In this framework, a special importance is assumed by studies which lead to the compilation and continual improvement of the documentational base of the school, by means of which the school is given great concrete assistance in the field of content. In these documents, especially in the programs, which are even more important, is synthesized the Party's policy, the main content of the school work and its goals for the preparation and formation of pupils and students according to the requirements of the time.

Experience until now indicates that in work with the programs there has been much empiricism and other deficiencies. Although they have changed from time to time, the expected improvement has not been realized because, generally, for the programs and a subject assigned to various classes and school cycles, various groups have worked without having had common, clear, elaborated and experimental ideological-scientific criteria, which has hindered the securing of continuity and connection among the school years or cycles. This has frequently brought about a lack of an integrated and unified conception of programs, especially for those subjects which have a broad extension in the various cycles and connections of the school.

A recognition of these deficiencies is not all that is required of the students and compilers of programs. The 8th Party Congress assigned to schools the task of more rapidly reflecting the new achievements of modern science in the programs and texts. And in order to provide a place for new and indispensable scientific information in our schools, it is necessary to achieve, as Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us, 'Not a mechanical increase in the volume of knowledge, but changes in the conceptual apparatus and a re-systematization of this information in a more compact and more universal structure which considerably increases its specific weight and enlarges, in a tangible manner, the field of its applications.' (Enver Hoxha, 'Report at the 8th Congress of the AWP,' p 132).

The achievements of these objectives requires the undertaking of complex studies for the programs, especially for those general cultural subjects which have a broad extension in 8-year and secondary schools and for which the developments are more rapid, as well as for some vocational subjects which are the basis for the training of pupils in secondary vocational schools. New and indispensable scientific information is given to pupils and students by means of texts which must always reflect contemporary scientific thought.

The studies for the programs must not only better implement the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on schools and reflect the development of the country and of world science, but also must anticipate needs which these developments set before the school. Aside from this, it is necessary that the research work of scholars be based on a healthy pedagogical and psychological foundation, on experience accumulated from our revolutionary schools, on contemporary didactic equivalents, on continual experiments, etc. It is not possible to call a program full or scientific which includes a list of themes identical with the presentation of a subject of a school text, which is not accompanied by the preparation of full models which are of value to organs of the Ministry, to the school and to the teachers of that subject in their work. The programs assume their full value when they are associated with documentation which contains the principles of program construction, scientifically based ideas, the internal connection from class to class and from cycle to cycle, a connection with other subjects, fundamental concepts on which they are built and their development in the process of cognition, the primary means of demonstration and concretization, etc. Such a rich document helps in the preparation of scientific bases of materials on teaching methods, auxiliary teaching which accompany the pupils' text, as well as other materials for training of teachers.

A standardized, solid and broad conception of studies for the program and, generally, of studies for the school, creates conditions that these studies, even for a designated subject, should not be seen and conceived in a partial manner, simply with respect to the content of the subject, but also with respect to the methods, the didactic procedures and the means of realization. Only in this manner will there be eliminated those cases, which are observed, of separation between the contents reflected, on the one hand, in the program and in texts, and, on the other hand, in the forms, methods and foundation of teaching materials which require these contents and which, taken together, often have a relative backwardness. Such a broad and interdependent concept of the content with forms and methods of study, up to the research and material base of the school, causes the latter to be considered as organic constituent parts of changes and improvements of the contents of programs and texts and, on the basis of this evaluation, to move into the harmonious development of all the components of teaching.

The standardized conception and realization, in its own full scope, of studies for the school will undoubtedly bring about not only a qualitative improvement, but also a continuity of scientific work, will help in ensuring that the studies for new programs and for existing ones, when partial changes and improvements are made, will lead to the accumulation of sufficient information and experience to make profound changes and improvements in the future. In this way, an important qualitative leap is also realized, securing the simultaneous grasping of current problems and perspectives of the school, a glaring deficiency in work in the field of education until now.

Parallel with the establishment on a scientific basis of studies on the content of subjects, the times also require a qualitative intensification and improvement of pedagogical studies in the field of education, in the field of general didactics regarding the organization of teaching and in the

field of studies which assist in the elaboration of problems of the Party's educational policy. In the latter cases the main attention will be concentrated, as it has been until now, on the analysis of the teachings of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the school, so that they may be applied in a more profound and universal manner in the whole of its life. In this framework, special importance is assumed by studies on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist education of youth, on the integration of teaching with work and life, etc. for which our schools give primary assistance in the practice and theory of pedagogical science.

In studies on education issues a central place must be taken by problems of the content and methods of education, as well as by socio-pedagogical and socio-psychological problems connected with them. These studies must also be clearly linked with concrete questions of the revolutionary education of pupils, the motives for learning, education in socialist attitudes toward work and property, and the education in healthy moral and esthetic tastes and attitudes in the struggle with bourgeois, revisionist, etc. ideological influences.

An important place today and in the future is taken and will be taken by studies on the history of the school, education and Albanian pedagogical thought, illustrious figures in our national education and the path which our socialist school has taken in various phases of its development. The times make it increasingly necessary that an integral work on the history of the school be composed in order thus to fill a noticeable gap in our pedagogical literature.

Studies in the field of education should be based on consolidated structures which coordinate with one another

For the requisite fulfillment of the great tasks which are set by the Party in the field of studies for the school, it is necessary that all study work be based on fully clear and consolidated structures and be secured by an effective coordination among them.

In spite of achievements until now, it must be admitted that in these directions there are still deficiencies and weaknesses which are reflected particularly in the low practical effectiveness of studies and experiments. The elimination of these deficiencies is achieved by means of the better specification of tasks by the Ministry of Education and Culture for each of its pedagogical and scientific organisms and institutions, as well as by means of the establishment, on a more scientific basis, of the study work of each organism and institution.

Great tasks appear, especially, for the Institute of Pedagogical Studies which must constitute the most important and most specialized scientific center in the field of studies on the school. Although the work of this institute has been constantly improving, it has still not become, as it should be, a center for the elaboration of scientific pedagogical thought for the school, a pivot for all those activities in order to competently resolve its problems, better collaborating with other institutions, especially

with departments of the University of Tirana and with higher pedagogical institutes. In the discussion organized in the course of last year too, for raising the qualitative level of the school, the voice of this Institute was not heard as much as it should have been. In its work there is a lack of long-term and complex studies on several fundamental problems in the improvement of the content, forms, methods and means of teaching in conformity with the requirements of the present phase and especially, prospects for the development of the country.

In order to execute, at the required level, the tasks assigned in the field of pedagogical studies, the Institute, under the direction of the Ministry of Education and Culture, must study better the content of school work and ways for its continual improvement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and the directives of the Party, on the basis of the experience of our schools and positive contemporary achievements. By means of the accumulation and elaboration of a large body of information, the development of observations and experiments which conclude with recommendations, normative materials and basic models, the Institute will give great assistance in the overall improvement of the work of the school and its documentation base.

Many flaws in the work of this institution result from a failure to properly define its physiognomy, purpose and structure. Two scientific sectors of the Institute have an excessively heterogenous composition. Each scientific worker covers a whole field or science. This sort of burden has a negative influence on the level of training and specialization of scientific workers of sectors which are still not up to the level of the requirements of the time. This has led to the fact that in sectors and among scientific workers correct relations are not always established between the organizational work and the genuine scientific work which the scientific sectors and workers must perform.

The heterogenous composition has led to that tendency, which has been observed in the scientific study work of this Institute, to handle many issues at one time, frequently beyond actual possibilities, thus not always concentrating on studies and experiments concerning fundamental problems of teaching and education, and not arriving at their full solution on the required qualitative level. Even on those occasions when important problems have been broached by the Institute of Pedagogical Studies, such as, for example, the excessive teaching load in schools, the harmonization of three components in structure, content and method, etc., they have been studied too globally, drawing up a balance sheet of conditions and giving several general directions and recommendations for the solution of problems.

The experience of recent times shows in order to broaden and increase the effectiveness of the scientific work of the Institute, this work must have a better foundation in permanent scientific leadership nuclei around which working groups of specialists and activists would be set up. In the composition of working groups, the majority should be teachers who, in accordance with the tasks which they will face in these groups, will be assigned to reduced, temporary or permanent norms.

Practice suggests that for important issues of the school there must be a concentration of qualified forces and concrete solutions of problems; thus, in the Institute of Pedagogical Studies should be set up under its direction temporary study groups, as was the case with the technical-scientific revolution groups in the economic sectors.

The times and the tasks assigned for solution require that the Institute of Pedagogical Studies itself be organized in scientific sectors according to subjects, or groups of related subjects, which should monitor the work of study units which can and must be created in schools. In the composition of sectors according to their profile and according to specializations for established each profile, many specialists from various institutions, as well as school teachers, can and must be activated as effective members thus insuring continual scientific activity at the required contemporary levels.

Aside from the Institute of Pedagogical Studies, a number of studies for the school can and must be assigned by the ministry to all of their own educational directorates, as well as to departments of schools of higher education which train teachers, to secondary pedagogical schools, to the scientific sector of the Institute of Physical Culture, and especially to the departments of pedagogy and psychology of the University of Tirana.

The Ministry directorate of 8-year and secondary education has the possibilities for the organization of those problems in sectors which more fully cover studies which do not require experiments and extensive processing of specialized information, but which have, as a foundation, mainly direct information taken from the schools, such as problems of the management and organization of the schools, of the level of knowledge in designated subjects, of production bases, etc. They can also occupy themselves more with prognosis studies on the development of various connections in the education system, with their extension and enlargement, with the new branches and profiles, with relations among categories of schools, with prospects for compulsory education, etc.

The departments of faculties of pedagogical institutes, as well as secondary pedagogical schools which train teachers, must be stimulated by the Ministry of Education and Culture to become more involved in drawing up teaching methods for particular subjects which are of value to future teachers in their practice as teachers.

The departments of pedagogy and psychology of the University of Tirana have every possibility to better support the school with its study and scientific work. It must be stimulated and supported by the ministry in order to prepare various texts and manuals on pedagogy, psychology and didactics, to analyze the pedagogical thought of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of the school and counteract bourgeois and revisionist views, to also make general studies for other problems of the school which do not require long observations and experiments in schools, but the extensive processing of information.



No matter how many teaching and pedagogical institutions and organisms there are which can and must occupy themselves with scientific work, for the character and goals which guide our school, the involvement and commitment to study work of a great number of teachers and schools has a particular importance. An important role in this involvement and activism is played by sectors of the Institute of Pedagogical Studies which must better monitor, especially, the activity of some experimental schools, where a large number of experiments are realized, of experimental teachers in other schools of the country, as well as of schools of advanced experience which must help with thematics, with a study platform and with literature and directions. Staying close to the grassroots will assist the workers of the Institute of Pedagogical Studies and of other scientific and state organizations in learning on a scientific level the experience of distinguished teachers and schools, and giving them skilled assistance.

Important centers of collaboration and communication of central scientific institutions and organisms with the grassroots have been and remain the pedagogical offices in the districts, in which activists of specialized teachers have been raised. Experienced skilled assistance of the center, close at hand, the pedagogical offices in administrative districts will be able to better stimulate the teachers and schools in the process of teaching and educating pupils and to generalize and propagate their advanced experience on a district level.

This wide circle of teachers, collaborators, specialists and cadres, activated by the scientific sectors of the Institute of Pedagogical Studies or the pedagogical offices in the districts, creates practical conditions for the development of broad activity and manifold studies in the field of pedagogy and the school, for the solution, in time and at the required level, of tasks which the Party has set before it.

The tasks assigned in the field of pedagogical studies are many and complex. For their realization, the Ministry of Education and Culture must take a series of measures for the consolidation of scientific work in all links of the school, in the institutions and organs of education. With the activation and coordination of work in all areas, the ministries will give tangible assistance in the expansion and qualitative improvement of research and study work for the school in order to correct a series of deficiencies which are still observed in this field of our education.

The ministry and all its levers and organisms at the center and at the grassroots must not accept the fact that in scientific study work in the field of the school there are still narrow, simplistic concepts, superficial evaluations of the possibilities for its achievements. Narrow, too, is that understanding that the work of scientific institutions or organisms is measured only or mainly by the number of scientific activities, reports and papers which are produced. The scientific activities, reports and papers produced there, the publication of some articles or brochures, are not the goal and definitive result of scientific study work. Its effectiveness is measured by the problems which it solves or sets on the

path to solution. Because this basic criterion is not always kept in view, the level and quality of some work that is accomplished are still not up to the standard required by the times. In many studies there are few profound scientific analyses, documented conclusions and scientific generalizations, practical ways of solving problems which concern the school.

The elimination of these and a number of other deficiencies which are observed in the field of scientific work of the school and pedagogy requires a further increase in the role of the basic organizations of the Party in scientific organisms and institutions of this profile. The organs and basic organizations of the Party, as well as the state organs of education, must--better than until now--struggle in order that the policy of the Party in the field of pedagogical science be better conceived and applied; they must require that the scientific workers and the broad masses of skilled educators occupy themselves more with those themes which have to do with the further improvement of the content and methods of instruction and education in school, which serve as the foundation of the work for the raising of the qualitative level of the school to the level of the objectives set by the 8th Party Congress.

12249

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TRIBUNA DEFENDS PACEM IN TERRIS, ATTACKS VATICAN

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 18, 4 May 83 pp 8, 9

[Article by Richard Najman: "Pacem in Terris"]

[Text] Recently, we have often witnessed veiled or open attacks by the Vatican and its allies against the socialist countries, against the participation of the clergy from certain Latin American countries in the national liberation movement. We have also seen ever-growing support of the Vatican curia for the United States, NATO and rearmament. In his public statements the pope often speaks of his desire for peace. At the same time, however, he is suppressing all movements which strive for peace and cooperation among nations.

What Is Pacem in Terris?

✓ The Association of the Catholic clergy called Pacem in Terris is a voluntary, social and public-interest movement of the Catholic Clergy in Czechoslovakia who, in fulfillment of their priestly duties, are involved in both civic activities and in efforts to strengthen peace and friendship among nations. At the same time, the association is a base for the implementation of specific spiritual needs in the social and public-interest spheres. In accordance with the program of the National Front, it tries to effectively assist in the development of our society on the basis of progressive resolutions of Vatican Council II under existing conditions while being inspired mainly by John XXIII's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris," of 1963.

As far as the church hierarchy is concerned, it is necessary to state that the association follows the directives of Ignatius of Antioch, who said: "As far as the church is concerned, nobody touches anything without a bishop." A discussion at Vatican II added to this the following: "The bishop does nothing without priests and without the people." For this reason, the association fully recognizes the legal and organizational superiority of bishops. However, in accordance with the Vatican Council's resolutions it admits that every individual has a right to express his or her own opinion on questions of so-called "world theology." The association's members also expect that such an approach will be beneficial for both the church and the socialist country. "As Czech and Slovak clergy with close ties to the people, we feel a need to be fully involved in the people's development and happiness. As citizens of a

socialist country we consider it our important duty to help our government out of patriotic motives in the solution of current problems," states the founding document of Pacem in Terris in its chapter entitled "Ideological Frameworks."

To sum it up, this association tries to create a link between the church and its hierarchy, on one hand, and the state, in which the association's members try to influence believers, on the other. What is the attitude of our country to such an effort?

#### State--Religion--Pacem in Terris

The Czechoslovak state recognizes, for the time being, the function of religion in our society as part of a given stage of development. From this stems the necessity to meet the religious needs of believers. At the same time, our government takes as a point of departure, among other things, Marx's words in his critique of the Gotha Program: "The Communist society...in every respect continues to have the economic, moral and spiritual characteristics of the old society from whose womb it grows." The Czechoslovak constitution recognizes full freedom of religion and of sects and the so-called church laws of 1949 stipulated the execution of legal supervision over churches without interfering in their internal matters of dogma.

On the other hand, the state requires from churches a positive attitude toward our social system in such a way that they encourage believers to loyal cooperation in the building of socialism. At the 15th CPCZ Congress Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee and the country's president, expressed this relationship as follows: "As far as our attitude toward religion is concerned, our position is well known. Our socialist state respects the religious feelings of believers and appreciates that the overwhelming majority of them sincerely participate in socialist construction."

As far as the activity of the Pacem in Terris Association is concerned, Gustav Husak evaluated its work in his letter of 6 February 1980 addressed to the association's second nationwide congress: "I accept with pleasure your promise that the Catholic clergy and their superiors desire to continue to assist in the continued prosperity of our socialist society and to help in good relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state. Our society appreciates the work of all believers who fulfill their civic duties and thus contribute to the building of socialism. For this reason, your work among believers to advance peace and help the motherland will be supported in the future, too, by the organs of our state."

On 12 October 1982, Milan Klusak, Czech minister of culture, stated the following at a meeting of the enlarged federal committee of the Pacem in Terris Association: "In recent months we have confirmed several times and in a clear voice that your association has the full support of our government. We also added that we want to and will, through all available means, also defend, develop and strengthen peaceful and constructive cooperation in our domestic social relations--concretely between the state and the Roman Catholic Church." And immediately afterward he appreciated the contribution of the association: "If the attempts to harm these relations, however intensive, have failed, it is because of the work of your Pacem in Terris Association...."

## What Was the Origin of the Association?

Following the February victory of the working people in our country, members of the church hierarchy, some clergy and some believers, especially those who previously belonged to the ranks of the defeated bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeois strata, openly using all available means, took the side of the defeated reaction. At the same time, they attempted to win over to their antistate positions other clergy in deaconries and vicariates. Suddenly, the relationship between the church and state took a new characteristic. However, some of the lesser Czech and Slovak clergy found strength to revise the attitude of the official church toward the people's democratic state and, following several working meetings in Horice, Trencianske Teplice, Luhacovice and on the Velehrad, founded a nationwide peace committee of the Catholic clergy and later, in 1951, Catholic Clergy Peace Movement (MHKD). This movement played a historic role in the efforts to eliminate disputes and tensions between the people's democratic state and the Roman Catholic Church in our country, made a breakthrough in the distrust between state and church, and helped to create favorable prerequisites for the solution of contentious questions. At the same time, it prevented the clergy from being recruited for illegal activities and antistate attitudes.

This movement declared in its program, and to a certain extent anticipated certain positions of Pope John XXIII and the resolutions of Vatican Council II. If we consider that while the papal throne was occupied by a well-known anticommunist, Pius XII, there existed no prescription for cooperation between the clergy and a people's democratic state and that, on the contrary, the Vatican was issuing prohibitions and slanders, we must greatly appreciate the results of the work of the MHKD. The Vatican even issued an excommunication decree threatening with removal from the church everyone who wanted to cooperate with communists in any form or shape.

The peak of the work of the MHKD was its Third Congress in 1956 which elaborated on the resolutions of the Vatican Council II and made other positive programmatic statements on its involvement within the framework of the socialist state.

In 1968, however, this movement was forced, through the help of aggressive right-wing clericals and obstinate enemies of socialism in the church, first to limit its activity and later to terminate it altogether. Most leading members of the movement were removed from their church positions, slandered in the press, and attacked in the church itself even through moral terror under the impact of which some broke down and in several instances died as a result of this "brotherly love for thy neighbor."

Soon after the consolidation of the political situation in 1969, efforts appeared to revive the activity of the MHKD. The organization wanted to base its actions on Vatican Council II and the peace efforts of Pope John XXIII. As a result, it selected a new name for itself, Association of the Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris.

## Attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy and the Vatican

Not all Catholic bishops and ordinaries of that time supported the reactionary efforts of other ordinaries in Czechoslovakia to prevent the appearance of a new movement. But many of them, including the present Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Tomasek, welcomed the efforts of the ordinaries. Rightly, they saw in the movement a continuation of the tradition of priest-revivalists such as Dobrovsky, Trebizshy and Baar and in Slovakia Moyzes and others. Following the ascension of John XXIII and especially after Vatican Council II, the policy of the Vatican toward the socialist countries in general and Czechoslovakia in particular started to change. John XXIII annulled the church penalties declared by his predecessor on Czech and Slovak priests who did not hide their love for their motherland and their willingness to help building socialism. The attacks directed at the MHKD, so numerous previously, also ceased. All this was preceded by certain steps as for example, in 1963 when the then Vatican Undersecretary of State, Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, who at present is the pope's first deputy, visiting the chairman of the MHKD and Minister of Health Josef Plojhar between the third and fourth meetings of the Vatican Council following the election of Paul VI to the papacy. In a 2-hour discussion with him, in the presence of representatives of the Czechoslovak authorities, Archbishop Casaroli asked that the MHKD help in the future, too, to create good relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak State.

Paul VI died in 1978. After the few-week-long pontificate of John Paul I and his unexpected death, the Archbishop of Cracow, Cardinal Wojtyla, was elected the new pope and adopted the name of John Paul II. Beginning then, the Vatican started a change in its policy. With growing displeasure the curia looked at the pacifist work of our clergy. The reason was that our clergy's efforts did not fit the curia's concept. Consequently, the curia started to take various measures to change the situation. However, because these measures failed to become effective, the Vatican took another step. Early in 1982, Cardinal Oddi issued a decree ordering the work of priests active in Pacem in Terris to be terminated. And it is necessary to add that this decree has found response among some of our church leaders who have obviously forgotten their past and are trying to follow this decree.

It certainly would be very interesting to trace the broader implications of this Vatican prohibition. Perhaps it would point to the audiences granted to senior representatives of the United States and NATO but also to the church split in Latin America, to the efforts of some to annul the main result of Vatican Council II and to the severe reprimand of the pillar of the church, namely, the Jesuit Order, of 8 March 1982, when the pope stated to the order's leaders: "You must refrain from politics and keep in mind that you are priests and not trade union or social workers." Or otherwise, these traces could lead, for example, to the preaching of Polish Bishop Tokarczuk and to the priest Sylwestr Zych, who were never reprimanded by the Vatican for their antisocialist activity, and when no comment regarding the support lent to the Polish counterrevolution was ever offered. Last but not least, we could find connections with sharp attacks against Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, which

were blamed for their alleged participation in the preparation of the attack against the pope on 13 May 1981 committed by a member of the fascist organization called the "Gray Wolves," the Turk Mehmed Ali Algca. The decree concerning the prohibition for the Czechoslovak clergy to participate in the Pacem in Terris Association is only one link in this long chain. As many of this chain's other links it is, however, also an attempt to interfere in the affairs of our country's citizens.

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HRUSKOVIC ASSESSES ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 8, 11 Apr 83 pp 7-9

[Article by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary, CPSL Central Committee]

[Text] The results of the class struggle between socialism and progressive forces, on one hand, and capitalism, on the other, also depend on the success of socialism to achieve constantly increasing labor productivity and production for the benefit of the working people and the strengthening of socialist relations. A course of action in order to achieve higher effectiveness and quality as a prerequisite for the intensification of our economy is thus the basic characteristic of our party's policy and the basic goal of state and economic organs.

The fulfillment of tasks in the growth of effectiveness, the improvement of the quality and social productivity of labor depend increasingly on the application of scientific-technical development and international socialist integration in the implementation of these tasks. With lower use of fuel energy, raw materials and other material, the further dynamic growth of our economy will require a centralized effort for better utilization of the aforementioned resources and further economizing measures. This is a primary social task which cannot be mastered without scientific-technical development. We must take into consideration the fact that even in the future we will face outside negative factors such as the higher cost of fuel and raw-material production and thus a rise in prices. We shall also face the efforts of the capitalist countries to make it difficult for us to meet our targets by using a variety of means such as embargo, tariff barriers, and other discriminatory measures. Thus, our only alternative is to mobilize all political, economic, social and organizational reserves which exist in scientific-technical development. We must increase the level of planning and management. As a counterbalance against the aforementioned discriminatory measures, we must use more effectively socialist economic integration, especially with the Soviet Union.

There is no other way than to narrow down the broad range of our production and orient ourselves toward profitable specialization, use the great potential of the CEMA member countries, especially of the Soviet Union, which has shown great success in the conquest of space, in the electrification of the production processes, in the development of the power industry, biotechnology and other progressive areas of the national economy.

In the past, one could often see emphasis on the fact that Czechoslovakia used to be among the most advanced steel producers in the world, that in the extraction of fuels it ranked second, that it was among the top consumers of rolled metals, in the production of electric power and other quantitative indicators per capita. Today, however, we must ask the question whether the raw materials, other commodities, energy, and primary products are used in a way which is desirable for an industrially advanced country. Thus, for example, from the point of view of primary energy consumption per capita, Czechoslovakia's consumption is roughly three times as large as the world average. Czechoslovakia, with a consumption of 7 tons per capita, uses more energy on the average than countries with a highly advanced and energy-intensive industrial plant such as the FRG, France, Sweden, and Belgium.

As a consequence of the fast rate of industrial development, our economy consumed in 1980 almost four times as much primary energy as in 1948.

To save energy is a primary task. We achieved some success during the last 5-year plan: an increase of 1 percent of the national income accompanied by an increase of only 0.5 percent in the consumption of fuel and energy. In the FRG, this percentage is 0.6 and in France, 0.56. Our goal is to reduce this ratio to 0.3 or 0.2 percent for each percentage increase in our national income.

We can save energy everywhere. For example, in the construction sector it is possible to achieve savings in energy consumption by renovating or modernizing older buildings rather than demolishing them. To build a new apartment, we need 50 tons of fuel; to renovate an old apartment, only 20 to 25 tons. At the same time, the increase in the number of apartments would not be smaller. Moreover, we would save land occupied by new developments.

It is imperative that we undertake a decisive change in our use of heat. In this respect, we have not yet done anything significant. The importance of this task is demonstrated by the fact that the consumption of energy needed to heat water requires almost 4 percent of the domestic consumption of primary energy sources of which approximately 14 percent go for housing, 11 percent for projects in the nonproductive sphere, and 15 percent for directly heating production capacities. In terms of money, this represents approximately Kcs 40 billion of social costs. Experts' estimates and practical tests, however, show that it would be possible to gradually save 20 percent.

Another basic saving would occur through the optimum use of raw materials. The insufficient utilization of raw materials can be illustrated in the case of lumber. Here, too, we are very much behind world development. We produce only 77 kilograms of paper and cardboard per 1,000 cubic meters of lumber whereas the world average is 117 kilograms.

Neither can the development of top-quality products satisfy us. Their share has grown in the recent period by only 6 or 7 percent. Such a situation must leave us uneasy because our low-quality and medium-quality products will be no match either in world or domestic markets.

Great attention must be paid to the accelerated use in production of the results of research and development (R&D). The existing situation is not satisfactory. In 1976, the results of R&D were involved in 76 percent of new products. In 1982, the figure was only 69 percent.

From these facts we can also deduce the existing and future challenging tasks of scientific-technical development and the tasks of party organs and organizations in the application of this scientific-technical development in practice.

Our decision to orient ourselves toward improved effectiveness and quality, based on the realization of scientific and technical development, is not easy and will require a change in attitudes and thinking by our working people, better knowledge and willingness to innovate, strong will, initiative and discipline, very close cooperation between the scientific-technical intelligentsia and the working class--the main bearer of the development of material production. It will also require changes in the thinking and attitudes of communists toward the goals of scientific, technical and economic development.

Our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have succeeded in the realization of two major changes in our economic and social structure: socialist industrialization and collectivized agriculture. We succeeded because the Communist Party was able to unify the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the toiling intelligentsia in the socially most important sector in order to achieve a healthy development of socialism.

Today, we are facing another great historic task: to link the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution in the interest of the dynamic development of our economy as a prerequisite for the growth of our people's standard of living, the strength of our socialist state, and the willingness to defend it. However, even this historic task can be achieved only through joint effort and through the firm solidarity of workers, peasants and the toiling intelligentsia.

Scientific-technical development in our situation can contribute to the intensification of our economy only if we orient ourselves toward those areas which are decisive for such growth.

Even in spite of substantially more complex internal and external conditions during the previous 5-year plan and during the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we have mastered, within the framework of the application of progressive knowledge of science and technology, the production of microelectronic parts, a precondition for far-reaching innovations in all sectors of our national economy. In research and production, we have mastered the system of small computers for controlling technological processes.

In engineering, which is a key branch for the development of our national economy, the number of automatic and semiautomatic molds and dies has grown. Gradual introduction into operation of computerized stamping equipment has made it possible to increase the level of automation of production, carry out changes in the production program, and improve the quality, working conditions and safety of labor.



The production and use of industrial robots and manipulators is taking off. We have mastered the demanding technology of steel production in oxygen converters, equipment for nuclear power works, production of polymers, chemical fibers, pesticides, etc. We have achieved good results in other branches too.

Even in spite of these successes which were recognized at the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, we have not yet succeeded in securing our tasks everywhere in a fully satisfactory manner. The main reason is that the scope and readiness for the use of scientific-technical knowledge do not correspond to our needs and possibilities. As a result, we do not see fast structural changes in the national economy.

We must also pay attention to the protection of our living environment against negative results from the development of production forces. But even more than that, we must use the wastes polluting our environment. Thus, for example, chemical production in Slovakia results in annual wastes of 260,000 tons from rubber, plastic materials, oil refining and petrochemicals, production of chemical fibers, etc. While we can now use approximately 30,000 of wastes, by 1985 we should be able to increase the recycling of wastes to almost 110,000 tons.

The implementation of these plans depends not only on our ability to master the assigned tasks in science, in basic or applied research, but primarily on our ability to apply their results in production. We must keep in mind that while the acceleration of the "research-production-use" cycle depends on planning and managing instruments, a great--and sometimes a most decisive role--is played here by the quality and full involvement of all working people taking part in this process. Hence the dynamics of the development of the production forces is now also based on the orientation toward the use of science and technology in practice. Our present generation of scientists, technicians and workers has, in this respect, a historic chance and obligation to be trained in the field of science and use technology so that it may realize revolutionary changes in production with which our society will enter the next millennium.

In all this, it is necessary to emphasize the functions of the human element, the conscious work of scientists and technicians and their cooperation with the working class. The scientific and technical intelligentsia, which is so close to the production process, during the struggle to build socialism has always been a close assistant to the working class, which is the leading force of society. During the period of building advanced socialism these relations have become even deeper. A task common to all party organs and organizations is, under the direction of the National Front, to further strengthen these relations and develop them on the basis of the lessons from the struggles for industrialization and collectivization so that they may improve and, thanks to a joint effort, have positive effects. This will require permanent technical training of the working people, especially workers in material production, the constant acquisition of new knowledge in one's own branch, and a transfer of the knowledge and results of science to other branches and sectors, in other words, to any place where they can be put to use.

This strengthening of the consciousness of socialist internationalism and its practical application in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is part of the changes in the thinking and attitudes of people involved in scientific-technical development and in the realization of its results.

It is obvious that these new approaches and changes will remain connected with the overcoming of old habits and, in some places, even of incorrect views on the solution of these questions. For this reason, we believe that not only party organizations but also social organizations which are an important ally of the party in the implementation of its policy among the working people, play a significant role in the strengthening of socialist internationalism.

The plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, when discussing the problems of the Seventh 5-Year Plan for economic and social development of the Czechoslovak society, confirmed that the basis for the development of our external economic relations will remain, even in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, strengthening and expansion of socialist integration with the CEMA member countries, production specialization and cooperation, as well as foreign trade among them. These relations are decisive for a successful international socialist division of labor, for a necessary acceleration of the cycle "research-production-use." Socialist economic integration affects all of us. It requires that the work of managers of central state organs and economic management down to the enterprise and plant levels, beginning with foremen and leading workers, managers and technicians, and ending with workers, secure optimal conditions for the necessary development of socialist economic integration.

Creative development of initiative and activity of the working people and speedy introduction of scientific knowledge into practice also constitute unity between the scientific-technical intelligentsia and the workers; it represents a mutual relationship between theory and practice. The role of theory is to enrich practice but also to react intensively to the needs of practice. Practice should make demands on theory and verify it. This necessary unity between theoretical and practical workers could be reflected in our enterprises and plants in the increase of improved proposals, patents and inventions and in the more effective use of production factors.

Our young generation has an important role in the effort to accelerate scientific and technical development. It was no accident that a resolution of the Third Congress of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM) called on the young people to play a more active role in scientific and technical progress. At the same time, charged the organs and members of the union to contribute more effectively to the formulation of a positive attitude of the young generation toward science and technology as well as to work harder for speedier and broader application of the results of science and technology into production.

An illustration of the significance of the youth in the application of the results of science and technology in practice comes from Nitra Okres.

Last year, the squads of the Young People's Reflector in Nitra Okres investigated 42 adopted but nonrealized and 23 rejected proposals offered by young

improvers. What was the result? Ten improvers' proposals and five topical tasks could be implemented after being investigated by experts.

Party and youth organs and organizations should pay increased attention also to young people outside the ranks of the SSM in various workers and agricultural collectives with the help of mass organizations to encourage their interest in scientific-technical progress. This is necessary because of the need for technical growth of these young people and because of technical-economic progress in the plants and enterprises where they work.

Various resolutions of party organs have often emphasized that care for the young generation is not only the responsibility of the family, school, technical training centers and the SSM but also of the entire society. The molding of these young people as future managers of our socialist fatherland depends on the conditions created by the older generation in the material and spiritual areas and in relationships among people. We must try and be able to link the desires, interest, temperament and ambitions of the young with an activity in which they will be interested. After all, does it not require a new spirit, vitality, enthusiasm and courage to search for and find new things, for example, in the field of science and technology and in the struggle for their realization? Of course it does. Thus, even in this sector, we should attract young people.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPS FOR CHILDREN--More than 770 children from 40 countries will spend their summer vacations in five international peace camps in the CSSR this year. In these camps, located in Sec, Brezova pod Bradlom, Pocuvadlo, Tatranska Lesna and Harrachov, up to 540 Czechoslovak boys and girls will also participate. Almost 430 Czechoslovak Pioneers will attend international peace camps in other countries as guests of 32 partner organizations. [Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 13 Jun 83 p 2]

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subjects are integrated in an organic and balanced fashion into the overall process of education and training, which enables our graduates to lead military teams, to use modern combat equipment, and to train young seaman recruits and petty officers.

The naval officer of the 1980's and 1990's and the graduate of our teaching facility must be able to adapt himself to changed operational conditions in the shortest time possible. The deputy minister and chief of the People's Navy, Admiral W. Ehm, gave expression to this in a discussion on methods at the Karl Liebknecht Officers' College of the People's Navy. He pointed out that assignment-oriented training holds a very important place in preparing graduates for their service in initial officer appointments. But by all means this must be done in optimal conjunction with specialty training as naval officers, in order to ensure for the graduates the prospect of many years in active military service and to safeguard their readiness for later action. Since on their road to becoming officers of distinction with an all-round socialist education the officer candidates must get past their first hurdles primarily in the General Fundamentals Department, special tasks are faced by the teachers of this department. Thus what is essential is to help the officer candidates in the complicated process of the transition from civilian life to the strict organization of military service, to educate them, and to train them. Only then will they be able to look at the abundance of the knowledge and information gained from the viewpoint of military life and accustom themselves to military ways of thinking and behavior.

In what follows, the instructional divisions of the General Fundamentals Department are explained in more detail.

#### 1. Training in Mathematics, Science and Engineering Fundamentals

The constant modernization of military equipment in the wake of the scientific-technological revolution in military affairs results in, among other things, a more and more extensive use of electronics, electrical engineering, and automation in the fleet. On a modern combat ship, this is revealed above all in the command and weapon systems, in operational monitoring, and in connection with information recovery, conversion, and processing. The servicing and upkeep of this equipment as well as their effective use together with the full employment of their technical and tactical parameters require sound practical skills and abilities. The latter are based on a comprehensive theoretical knowledge which the officer candidate must learn in his training in mathematical-scientific and engineering fundamentals.

Building on their acquired university matriculation qualifications, the mathematical instruction of the officer candidates begins with a basic course, which is continued in advanced courses. These correspond to the requirements of the individual training specialties. On the other hand, instruction in the subject of physics is exclusively specialty-oriented.

As a basis for further subjects of instruction, in the subject of fundamentals of electronics the officer candidates become familiar with the most important electronic components and basic circuits. In yet another subject they are familiarized with fundamental devices of digital and analog metrology and with the various measuring methods and procedures.

TRAINING AT NAVAL OFFICERS' COLLEGE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 2, 1983 (signed to press 11 Jan 83)  
pp 60-61

['MT Introduces' feature article by Comdr Dr H. Santen, commandant, General Fundamentals Department, Karl Liebknecht Officers' College of the People's Navy]



Comdr Dr H. Santen

[Text] In the course of their training to become officers of our People's Navy, the officer candidates of all specialties go through the educational subjects taught at the General Fundamentals Department of the Karl Liebknecht Officers' College of the People's Navy. Here, they acquire the requisite knowledge in mathematics and science, engineering, and foreign languages and are trained in military seamanship and military sports. The General Fundamentals Department thus provides essential conditions for the further specialty-related training of young citizens of our nation to become technical military personnel, senior officers, instructors, and commanders of combat teams on ships and boats or in units and facilities of the People's Navy.

Experienced instructor officers with many years of practice in the fleet as well as university-level teachers impart to the officer candidates extensive knowledge and skills in 15 educational subjects. In this connection, the qualities of character which are to be developed in the course of taking these educational

Instruction in the subject of Electronic Computing Equipment briefs the officer candidates on advantages of using and operating conditions for computing equipment in the sector of applied tactics and as a part of the weapons systems of the naval forces.

The linking of fundamental and specialty training is quite particularly noticeable in the instructional subject of Automatic Control. It is specifically coordinated with the automation level of the equipment and weaponry in the People's Navy, and it imparts to the officer candidates knowledge about components of automated equipment and about automated structures in a way which reflects the special features of their use on board the ships. The practical training in this subject is done, among other ways, on functioning equipment from the fleet.

In all subjects of training in engineering fundamentals, the officer candidates strengthen their practical skills in extensive laboratory practicals and exercises. Through their participation in scientific circles of officer candidates, qualified and interested officer candidates expand their knowledge under the direction of experienced teachers. At the same time they help in the scientific activity of the department and participate in broadening and perfecting the teaching and training basis.

## 2. Nautical Military Training

In nautical military training, the officer candidates acquire basic knowledge in seamanship up to a level which must be mastered by every fleet officer, regardless of his training specialty. They become acquainted with the most important legal and military regulations, the basic principles of the organization of the service, and tactical training on board combat ships. They acquire the requisite knowledge and the practical skills which they need as young officers for organizing and directing the general military training of their subordinates. This nautical military training includes the subjects of seamanship, drill and marksmanship training, protective and medical training, organization of the service, and tactical training, as well as matters of law and military regulations. Its essential objective is to instill the qualities of a commander into the officer candidates.

The nautical training is based primarily on practical exercises. It is focused on the development of skills and abilities in connection with the confident handling of nautical devices and equipment. Its high point in the first year of studies is a cruise lasting several days on training boats along sea-water routes. Here the officer candidates are for the first time responsible on their own and over a relatively long time for the piloting of a vessel in maritime traffic. These cruises help to strengthen the teams, raise the self-confidence of the officer candidates, and develop an awareness of responsibility. In the third year of studies, the officer candidates then are given the right to pilot on their own a commercial transport boat.

Training on individual and collective rescue equipment, which is carried out in the form of teaching demonstrations, practical exercises, and standards reviews, represents another group in the nautical training program. In several training cruises on the school ship "Wilhelm Pieck" of the People's Navy, the nautical knowledge of the officer candidates is strengthened.

In the drill and marksmanship training, as well as in training on protective measures against means of mass destruction, the foundation is laid for instilling military patterns of behavior among the officer candidates. In addition, constant training gives them confidence in the use of personal protective gear, in removing the effects arising from the use of means of mass destruction by the enemy, and in dealing with incendiary devices.

### 3. Foreign-language Training

The officer candidates of the People's Navy learn a foreign language in the fields of Russian (all specialties) and English (two specialities).

The confident mastery of the Russian language as the standard command language in combat training and in combined maneuvers of the Baltic Sea fleets of our socialist allies has an important influence on the course and outcome of joint actions.

But by means of appropriate instructional subject matter, the linguistic prerequisites are also created for preparing, organizing, conducting, and successfully executing combat engagements, for garrison service, and for meetings among comrades in arms. The Week of Comradeship in Arms which has been held at our educational establishment since 1964, and the visits to Soviet, Polish, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Yugoslav ports by the school ship "Wilhelm Pieck" give our officer candidates the opportunity to use and strengthen their knowledge of foreign languages in practice.

Language training in the field of Russian for all officer candidates is completed with their acquisition of a certificate qualifying them as language experts of stages I or IIb.

In the subject of English instruction, the future fleet officers are to be given the linguistic prerequisites for being able to participate in international marine radio communications and for reading with comprehension English-language technical literature.

### 4. Military Physical Fitness Training

Military physical fitness training has the task of developing the psychological and physical fitness of the officer candidates and their preparedness for fulfilling all the demands which are placed on them by military life, by service on board, and by modern combat. At the same time this is concerned also with training socialist officers of distinction who have superior moral, spiritual, and physical qualities as well as exceptional qualities of will-power.

Strength, endurance, and quickness, skills in negotiating the assault course, in hand-grenade throwing, in military swimming, and in heavy gymnastics are important objectives of this training. In addition, by methodical instruction the officer candidates become qualified to plan, organize, and carry out physical training with their future subordinates. Within the framework of this training, they receive a certificate of competency as training supervisors for refereeing the mass sports of the Army athletic association "Vorwaerts."



A comprehensive training base with modern rooms and laboratories allows us to conduct practical training in mathematical-scientific and engineering fundamentals. A number of athletics and firing-range facilities as well as the training boats on hand constitute the essential portion of the material basis for the military-seamanship and physical training of our officer candidates.

The teaching staff of the General Fundamentals Department is always striving to modernize the teaching substructure and to improve the theoretical instruction in terms of content and methodology. The teachers see opportunities in this direction in having a close contact with military practice in the fleet and a constructive transferring of the wealth of experience gained by Soviet and other allied naval forces. Today, this department is equipped with all the prerequisites needed for doing its part in performing the tasks set for us by the party and army leadership, within the overall framework of training at the Karl Liebknecht Officers' College of the People's Navy.

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ORGANIZATION OF ARMY MOTOR POOL MAINTENANCE WORK DETAILED

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['Operation, Maintenance, Repair' feature article by Lt Col H.-E. Krams,  
engineer: "Organization of Motor Pool Days in the Component and in the Unit"]

[Text] When the guideline 250/8/003 "Organization and Implementation of Maintenance of Technology and Weaponry" became effective on 15 October 1981, new aspects appeared for the organization of motor pool days in the components, independent units, and installation of the ground fighting forces of the NVA (National People's Army). Below we call attention to some essential aspects, which have partly been newly specified by the guideline. By way of trial experience, some references are given for planning, preparing, implementing, and evaluating motor pool days in the components.

The motor pool days occupy an important place among the measures for guaranteeing a constant combat readiness of the components and units. They have the following objective:

to guarantee the constant deployment readiness of the technology, weaponry, and equipment,

to verify and estimate the technical, care-and-maintenance status of the technology, weaponry, and equipment,

to verify adherence to regulations in the area of health and work protection as well as fire protection and safety determinations in the motor pool,

to maintain the deployment readiness of the workshop and motor pool equipment as well as the facilities of the motor pool, to maintain the technical training basis, and to guarantee the internal order in the motor pool,

to confirm the theoretical knowledge and practical skills of the personnel by lecture demonstrations, instruction, and training in individual activities, which are related to the utilization and repair of the technology, weaponry, and equipment as well as of the workshop and motor pool equipment.

The motor pool day in the component is effective when it is specifically planned and is also prepared with definite political objectives, technically and organizationally. All measures must be secured on all sides. The motor pool day must be

strictly controlled by the commanders at all stages, their representatives, and the leaders, chief officers, and the officers of the service branches, special troops, and services. The motor pool day must be verified and evaluated. The basic obligations of the above mentioned superiors in the preparation and implementation of motor pool days are specified in the guideline.

## 1. Motor Pool Days in the Component

### 1.1 Planning of the Motor Pool Days

Motor pool days are to be planned and executed on the basis of the specifications of the DV 010/0/003, the military regulations of the service branches, special troops, and services, as well as the guideline 250/8/003. Their planning is a component of the planning of the political and combat training for the half year of training. A "plan of motor pool days in the half year of training" (for a sample see Appendix 1 of the R250/8/003) must be worked out by the StKTA (representative of the commander for technical equipment) (StKFRTD (expansion unknown) or StKRTD (representative of the commander for rearward services)). The plan must be confirmed by the commander of the component. The following are to be considered in this plan:

The focal points prescribed by the unit,

the specifics of the training tasks to be fulfilled in the half year,

the special features of the existing use period,

the necessary maintenance work on the stored technology, weaponry, and equipment,

the systematics and completeness of the verification of individual installations, systems, and modules, after a half year or a full year cycle,

and the continuous maintenance of the motor pool, its equipment and facilities.

The specification that the StKTA is responsible for working out the plan does not mean that he alone works out the plan and accordingly takes into account only the concerns of his area of responsibility.

All representatives of the commander as well as the leaders, chief officers, and officers of the service branches, special troops, and services must work out their contributions in correspondence with their responsibility area. During the phase of generating the plan, they must provide input so that their concerns will be included and appropriate measures will be included within the plan at the proper time. It is not sufficient to sequence the individual measures of the component area. These must be directed towards a common objective and must be coordinated with one another. This requires good collaboration.

In practice, it has proven appropriate to work out specifically the "plan for motor pool days for the half year of training" for the existing half year of training. Here, the planned operations/measures including the necessary political/technical and rearward maintenance must be keyed to the individual months and the operation/measures must be roughly planned in perspective for the following training year.

This guarantees that especially the annual cyclical operations/controls will be completely taken care of and no installations, systems, or modules will be forgotten. This secures the required continuity and is a presupposition for constant deployment readiness.

For one half year of training, six motor pool days with seven hours each, and monthly the Saturdays are to be planned as motor pool and housekeeping days. The motor pool days are to be recorded in the component in the command documents for the service plan.

When planning the motor pool days at seven hours, one must take care that not only the guard, housekeeping, and maintenance units, but if possible the entire component, implements the motor pool day uniformly on one day under the leadership of the commander of the component. This facilitates the control of the total process, secures the achievement of its objective, allows basic controls, and justifies the considerable effort for the all-round setting up of the motor pool day. The guard, housekeeping, and maintenance units must implement the motor pool day on another training day in the same month.

A well thought out, all-round coordinated plan of the motor pool days is a presupposition for their effective accomplishment. If it is allowed in advance that the units will not completely or not at all participate in the motor pool day, the forces and means will be frittered away, the tasks will be fulfilled only partially, and a thoroughgoing verification will be made more difficult.

The planning of the work and the deployment of the forces and the means for the motor pool days that are to be implemented on Saturdays must follow analogous principles, according to the specification of the guideline 250/8/003. Practice shows that it is suitable to specify points of emphasis for the units even for the motor pool day on Saturday. However, here one must take care that the units have some time to solve the specific problems that are specified by the unit commanders.

## 1.2 Preparation of the Motor Pool Day

In the monthly task definition, the commander of the component indicates to his representatives as well as to the leaders/chief officers/officers of the service branches, special troops, and services, the objectives and points of emphasis, the participating forces and means, and the dates for the motor pool day (or the motor pool days), at seven hours each, that are to be implemented this month. On the basis of this task definition, the representatives of the commander and the leaders/chief officers/officers of the service branches work, special troops, and services, work out their contributions for planning the motor vehicle day. Specialized tasks are to be formulated in these contributions. Here, the central problems specified in the plan for the motor pool days in the training half year, the special features of the utilization of the technology, weaponry, and equipment during the time since the previous motor pool day, and until the next following motor pool day, as well as the results of checks which have been performed must all be taken into account.

The StKSC (expansion unknown), together with the StKTA and the StKRD, coordinates all measures regarding the deployment of forces and means as well as the checking and guidance of the units. Accordingly, the StKSC together with the StKTA must work out the plan to implement the motor pool day in the component, and the commander

of the component will confirm this plan.

On the basis of the plan for the motor pool day, the StKSC of the component will instruct the leaders/chief officers/officers of the service branches, special services, and services of the component as well as the commanders of the units as regards their tasks. This instruction will take place six to eight days before the motor pool day. The other representatives of the commander and the leader/chief officers/officers of the service branches, special troops, and services of the component will assign specific tasks regarding the motor pool day to their immediately subordinate army personnel and units as well as to their subordinate officers/warrant officers/sub-officers of the service branches, special troops, and services (Figures 1 and 2, see cardboard insert).

The sample for the "plan for a motor pool day" which is shown in the guideline 250/8/003 has been expanded by us and has been used for some time in several units (Figure 3, see cardboard insert). The objective of the motor pool day under Point III "Calculation of the Participating Technology" was also included. The required goal-setting of the motor pool day forces the person who is working it out to think deeply about the objectives to be achieved with this motor pool day. Accordingly, the operations/measures necessary to achieve these objectives will be planned and will be secured by the required forces and means. This prevents operations/measures from being merely chained together. Consequently, it is also recommended that the rough objectives for the individual months be already included in the "plan of motor pool days" during the training half year. For this reason, it is consistent to put in first place the basic consideration what is to be achieved with the motor pool day in a particular month. Then, the arrangement of the necessary and suitable operations/measures becomes easier.

Point III "Calculation of the Participating Technology" should be carried out, as noted in the reference, only at the levels of the battalion and company. By listing the technology which participates in the motor pool day, the unit commander can verify, when confirming the plan, whether the specified technology is included in the motor pool day. Independent of this, the participation of the motor vehicle technology in the motor pool day must be planned and verified in the monthly utilization plan. This is a presupposition for making up the work of the motor pool day some other time on the motor vehicle equipment which does not participate. Furthermore, Point III forms the basis for the analytical activity of the StKTA. It permits conclusions in the verification of technical deployment readiness.

The subdivision of the individual points of emphasis on the front side and back side (Figure 3) has proven suitable in practice, since, at one glance on the front side of the plan, all organizational specifications can be seen and, on the back side, corresponding to the running sequence of the motor pool day, all measures are included in continuous sequence.

The political work for preparing all members of the component for the motor pool day plays an essential role in the preparatory phase for the motor pool day. This includes, among other things, that each member of the component knows the objective of the motor pool day at the proper time and identifies with it. That everyone knows what problems he must solve on the motor pool day. From the tasks of the StKPA (R 250/8/003 Section 4 (3)), further points of emphasis for the political work and

the motor pool day can be derived. One must always give thought to the fact that no speech at the beginning of the motor pool day, no matter how inspiring, can substitute for steady, purposeful, political-ideological work in the preparation of the motor pool day.

### 1.3 Implementation of the Motor Pool Day

The commander of the component will personally lead the motor pool day (seven hours). For this he will use a command point set up at the motor pool (tent, staff bus). He will open the motor pool day, will announce the objective, and will assign the units of the component their tasks. The basic operational sequence of the motor pool day is specified in the guideline. Furthermore, a few principles should be explained which must be considered in implementing the motor pool day:

The work on the technology, weaponry, and equipment must be organized so that production of combat readiness is guaranteed within the commanded time.

All measures of command and verification of the motor pool day are to be implemented under the direct responsibility of the direct commanders.

The commander of the component must use his representatives and officers, warrant officers, and sub-officers of the staff for verification and direction on the basis of a specific plan.

The all-round safeguarding of the motor pool day by the responsible representatives of the commander and the technical services must be concluded at least one day before the motor pool day.

All drivers/crews/services must have a work card which contains the specific operations for each individual, the required times, and the technological dependencies.

The motor vehicle deployment on the motor pool day is to be limited to the necessary minimum.

In the component, no other measures are to be planned so that all forces can be used for the motor pool day.

The driver/crew/service personnel will implement the operation/measures on that technology/weaponry/equipment which they have taken over and for which they are personally responsible.

The status of their work and its execution in the appropriate quality must be constantly checked by the responsible personnel. A uniformly good quality must be assured here.

Supporting forces should, if possible be used for the technology/weaponry/equipment which belongs to the unit and on whose deployment readiness the fulfillment of the combat task of the respective unit depends.

Whether the objective of the motor pool day has been achieved depends largely on how every individual identifies with this objective. For this reason, the political work during the course of the motor pool day must be conducted concurrently,

uninterruptedly, and goal-directed, designed for the solution of all the assigned tasks at the proper time and in the proper quality. A specified time for the commander of the component or his representative to traverse the motor pool will secure uniform completion of the work. Corresponding to the service obligations according to DV 010/0/003, the unit commander is responsible for the order and safety of the motor pool section assigned to him. Accordingly, he should accept his motor pool area personally and should report to his supervisor, as he passes through the motor pool, that order and safety have been guaranteed.

It is essential that, at the end of the motor pool day, every supervisor can specifically estimate how his unit has solved the assigned problems, and what is the status of his technology, weaponry, and equipment. Here, it is true in principle that, at the end of the motor pool day, the technology, weaponry, and equipment must be ready for deployment. This presupposes the following: On the motor pool day, the progress of the work as well as the quality must be constantly checked and it must be corrected immediately if necessary. Here, especially the squad leader and the platoon leader, the StKTA/Kp (representative of the commander for technical equipment/company) and the specialists must act jointly with the unit commanders.

The uniform and proper execution of the assigned work must be guaranteed in advance. Here, lecture demonstration or training measures of 10 to 15 minutes duration before the respective work have proven themselves in actual practice. These generally secure a proper implementation on one's own equipment.

Work which has been begun must be concluded. Necessary small repairs, which arise in the course of the work/checking, must be essentially completed on the motor pool day, but in the interest of deployment readiness even beyond the time of the motor pool day. When necessary, the supporting forces and means must be drawn upon. The like also holds for the removal of observed defects in the final check.

Motor pool days are to be completed only when the technology/weaponry/equipment is ready for deployment and has been deposited at the assigned place, when the unit commander has personally convinced himself of order and security in the motor pool section assigned to him and has reported completion to his supervisor.

#### 1.4 Evaluation of the Motor Pool Day

The results of the checks performed by all supervisors, but especially the final checks form the foundation for the evaluation of the motor pool day. The StKSC together with the StKTA will work out his report for the evaluation of the motor pool day through the commander of the component, on the basis of contributions from the other representatives of the commander, as well as messages concerning the results from the leaders/chief officers/officers of the service branches, special troops, and services.

The commander of the component, in accord with the specifications of the R 250/8/003, will perform an evaluation of the motor pool day with his representatives, the leaders/chief officers/officers of the service branches, special troops, and services, as well as the commanders of the units. He will determine the tasks for eliminating observed defects and will specify the time and the responsible personnel for the required follow-up checks. The unit commanders will evaluate the motor pool day in



their units. The representatives of the commander and the leaders/chief officers/officers of the service branches, special troops and services will perform the evaluation with the members of the army that are directly subordinate to them and with the unit commanders, as well as with their subordinate officers/warrant officers/sub-officers of the service branches, special troops, and services. Here, specific conclusions must be drawn for further work and precise tasks must be assigned to subordinates. The results of the motor pool day will form the foundation for the task definition of the following motor pool day.

## 2. Motor Pool Days in the Unit

### 2.1 Preparation for the Motor Pool Day

Six to eight days for a motor pool day of seven hours, the commanders of the units, their representatives, and the officers/warrant officers/sub-officers of the service branches, special troops, and services of the units will be instructed in their tasks. To prepare the motor pool day in the units, they must basically fulfill the same tasks that were mentioned for the command level of the component. Subsequently, the plans for the motor pool day for the battalions/detachments at the company/batteries must be worked out (Figure 1, see cardboard insert). Here, the tasks assigned by the supervisors and the specific conditions in the units must be taken into account. The company and battery chiefs will confirm the plans up to four days before the motor pool day. By the same time, the units must request from the technical services the material means to secure the motor pool day.

On the basis of the plan of the motor pool day of the unit, the company and battery chiefs or their representatives for technical equipment will instruct the platoon leaders in their tasks. Subsequently, the platoon leaders will assign tasks to the squad leaders (or equivalent officers) up to two days before the beginning of the motor pool day.

For each driver, every service person, etc., a type-related working card must be produced. Practice has shown that even the platoon and squad leaders should read and check the specified operations/measures in their platoon or squad by means of working cards.

For the all-round preparation of the motor pool day of the unit, the following further measures are necessary:

Instruction of maintenance and repair specialists (if such exist in the unit) in the work for support and verification,

reception and preparation of the means for material assurance,

instruction and training of the personnel.

The motor pool days on Saturdays are to be organized in the units under the responsibility of the unit commanders. Their preparation must take place in the unit according to analogous principles.



## 2.2 Implementation of the Motor Pool Day

Corresponding to guideline 250/8/003, the unit commanders must verify the readiness of the units for the motor pool day immediately before opening the motor pool day. In practice, it has proven suitable that the platoon leaders do this immediately after fall out, while still in or before the barracks. It is thus possible, in an uncomplicated fashion, to make necessary corrections (type of uniform, work cards forgotten, etc.). After this, the units, under the leadership of the unit commanders, will move to the assigned positions.

After a report of readiness by the unit commanders, the commander of the component will open the motor pool day. He will announce the objectives, tasks, points of emphasis, deadlines, and checks. Then the unit commanders of the units will take over and will move to their assigned work places. Furthermore, the following general operating sequence of the motor pool day in the units has proven itself:

Reception of the material means.

Short, specific work protection instructions, which refer specifically to the work to be performed in accord with the special features of the special technology, weaponry, and equipment.

Beginning the commanded work on the basis of the work cards.

Before beginning the work, a type-related training of 10 to 15 minutes duration regarding the first point of emphasis of the motor pool day. The squad leader, platoon leader, motor sergeant, radio officer, tank control officer, StKTA, etc. are deployed as the implementing personnel.

Immediately after this training, the driver/crew/service persons will implement these activities on their own technology.

The supervisors of all stages must constantly check the completeness and quality of the assigned operations/measures. The work and the checks performed are to be verified in writing on the working card in columns 5 and 6. Thus, the worker will acknowledge that he has performed the respective work completely and in the proper quality, and the checker will take care that he has personally convinced himself of this. Naturally, this presupposes that the supervisors can properly perform the required checks. Special attention must here be paid to young subofficers and officers as well as to such supervisors who are not involved with these tasks on a daily basis. Both in the preparatory time and also directly on the motor pool day itself, it is possible to instruct the checkers in their checks. This will increase the authority of the respective supervisors and will assure a qualitatively good checking operation.

The maintenance and repair forces that have been assigned to the unit upon instruction of the StKTA/TT (representative of the commander for technical equipment/component) are to be instructed in the work which they must perform on the motor pool day, depending on their specific state of knowledge and on their existing capabilities and skills. This is especially true for new personnel, who are not yet sufficiently familiar with the special features of the technology, weaponry, and equipment, on the basis of their service age and their training status.

It is appropriate to conclude the first focal point of the work, if possible, by the breakfast break. Depending on the tasks to be fulfilled, and on the possibility of securing the break snack, this time may be different in the individual units. A good break snack plays a very great role, especially in the transitional periods (spring/fall) and in the winter months. All participants in the motor pool day must be able to consume the break snack at a warm, dry location without leaving the motor pool (e.g. in heated tents).

Motivational work is important during the break. The first working results are available and must be published (verbally, in writing) and discussed. Available motivational means must be used all around. The soldier must feel that his supervisors know the specific state of his work, and recognize his good work, and are concerned about him.

Upon resuming after the break, the initial results are to be evaluated and the following tasks are to be assigned. If necessary and suitable, a training measure/instruction demonstration should take place also before the second focal point of the work. This work should be concluded, if possible, before the noon break. Before moving off for the noon meal, the state of accomplishment must be estimated and evaluated. Care must be taken that the work places are left clean and that order and safety are guaranteed in every section of the motor pool. By the noonday break, the central tasks for work on the technology, weaponry, and equipment should have been accomplished.

On motor pool days of seven hours, the time after the noon meal should basically be used in accord with the guideline 250/8/001 "Organization of the Service in the Company/Battery":

For care, maintenance, and repair work, which may be necessary according to the state of the technology, weaponry, and equipment (individual work), and

for inspections on the technology, weaponry, and equipment, including the elimination of defects.

The squad and platoon leaders know the precise condition of the technology in their unit, and, already in working out the working cards, must exert their influence so that these individual operations are included exactly for the motor vehicle, the individual tank, etc. In no case may it be left to the driver/crew what is to be done in these one to one and a half hours. The squad and platoon leaders have the duty of continuously checking the status of work and its execution and its proper quality during the course of the motor pool day. If necessary, they must intervene immediately. Recognized defects must be corrected immediately. Furthermore, it should be noted that the squad and platoon leaders also have disciplinary authority and should use this under appropriate preconditions.

Depending on the task definition of the commander of the component/unit, checks must be implemented at the assigned time at the conclusion of the motor pool day (including inspections).

During the course of the motor pool day, the squad and the platoon leaders will constantly check the process of the work. On the other hand, the final check is used by the unit commander to determine how the objective of the motor pool day has been reached, whether all the technology, weaponry, and equipment is ready for deployment, and whether the existing focal points of training have been adequately prepared on the part of the technology.

After the check has been completed, tasks will be assigned to the squadron platoon leaders to eliminate the observed defects. The results of these checks are to be reported to the StKSC in charge. They will be used as a basis for the report to the commander of the component.

### 2.3 Evaluation of the Motor Pool Day

The main idea of the evaluation must be how the respective unit has accomplished the objective of the motor pool day and has solved the problems arising therefrom. In the squad, the squad leader will estimate how the squad, as a collective, and each individual has executed the tasks that were assigned in accord with the working card. He will praise good examples, criticize bad ones, and will assign tasks for eliminating observed defects. He will report to the platoon leader the evaluation which he has performed, the defects which he has observed, and the deadlines for their elimination.

The platoon leader will evaluate the collected performance of the platoon and of the squads. The members of the squads must know specifically how the performance of their squad is estimated, what was achieved, what tasks are still undone, and by what time the defects must be corrected. The platoon leader will report to the company chief the results of the motor pool day and the evaluation that has been performed. He will inform him concerning the deadlines that have been set, will have these confirmed or made more precise, can request the necessary support, and will submit proposals for commendations.

The company chief will evaluate before the company how the tasks of the motor pool day have been solved in the company and what contributions the individual platoons have made. He will address special performances, criticize defects, will use his disciplinary authority if necessary and will assign tasks to eliminate observed defects. The company chief reports the results of the motor pool day to the commander of the battalion, submits to him the commendation proposal, and has the opportunity to request support from him.

Depending on the specific focal points of the respective motor pool day, an evaluation of the motor pool day on Saturdays is regarded as suitable up to the company level. The motor pool day of seven hours (depending on the specific topic), however, should be evaluated immediately at its conclusion before the entire battalion. Tasks which the company chief has already assigned and which have been confirmed by the battalion commander need not be repeated in this evaluation (an analogous situation also holds for the levels of the platoon and company).

It should be avoided that, after the evaluation of the commander, the individual representatives will follow with their own evaluation. It is better that this should take place in the next service discussion with subordinates and subsidiaries. An

evaluation of motor pool day before the entire personnel of the component will generally not take place; if there are chained motor pool days, this is certainly conceivable.

Often, those are forgotten in the evaluations who perform work for repair of the equipment of the motor pool in the individual working commands. It is suitable that those who are responsible for this should evaluate such work immediately after its completion. When completion has been reported to the supervisor, they will report implementation of the evaluation and will inform him concerning the result as well as of positive and negative work performance.

The public evaluation of the results during the course and at the end of the motor pool day is very important from a training point of view. For this reason, it should be done with the manifold means of propaganda and should be up to date.

### 3. Final Remarks

The work with the supervisors at all levels should be directed towards grasping the significance of the motor pool day and towards recognizing their personal responsibility in guaranteeing the constant deployment readiness of the technology, weaponry, and equipment. From this, they must draw the following conclusions for their own work:

The motor pool day must be performed regularly and according to plan in accordance with the R 250/8/003.

Its results are as good as its all-round preparation.

The success of the motor pool day depends strongly on the personal initiative of all supervisors and subordinates and on the collaboration between the commander and his representatives as well as the company chief and his platoon leaders.

The motor pool day makes it possible to deepen and to verify the knowledge, capabilities, and skills of the service personnel, drivers, and crews.

The scope of the work, the proper sequence of the work, and adherence to the required parameters depends significantly on the quality of the work cards.

Motor pool days do not replace the planned technical maintenance; they are an additional measure.

Constant checking of the work on the motor pool day generally secures its complete execution with the proper quality.

The tasks of supervisors on the motor pool day consist in leading their personnel, motivating them, and checking them. Younger supervisors require active support and personal examples for this.

The comprehensive political-ideological preparation of personnel on the motor pool day, the timely and comprehensive planning, conscientious preparation and all-round assurance are presuppositions for success on the motor pool day.

## IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES NOTED

### Care for Elderly

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Apr 83 p 21

[Text] Last year the Hungarian union movement endorsed the Elderly Day, initiated by the World Health Organization of the United Nations, through the proclamation of a year-long program. At the national conference held yesterday in Budapest, the National Council of Trade Unions and its directorate of social security evaluated the social effort to improve the living conditions of persons above the age of 60.

The conference was opened by Karoly Palotai, vice president of the National Council of Trade Unions, welcoming the union and council executives and activists of the capital city and the megyes, and then Dr Judit Czehak, secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, started a debate. Among other things, she mentioned that in our country, too, the number of elderly people is increasing from year to year. With regard to this relative number, Hungary stands, world-wide, in the seventh place; at present we have 2,200,000 citizens in the retirement age. Their care is a task involving the entire society, which means that not only the state, social and interest-safeguarding organizations but also the families have responsibilities toward the older generation.

In his speech, Dr Istvan Bartos, director of the Main Directorate of Social Security of the National Council of Trade Unions, emphasized the importance of this through data. He said that almost 400,000 persons, one-fifth of all retirees, live all alone, in spite of the fact that three-fourths of them have one or more adult children. However, various communities as well as individual persons have done much for them in the past years. This proves that the attitude is changing. There are more and more people in our country who understand that a retiree is not a dependent but a citizen who established the funds for his own retirement care through work of several decades.

The director emphasized that more than 69 percent of last year's social security expenses constituted pensions, which is 22 percent higher than 2 years before that.

He commended the initiatives of state, political and social organizations, the home care of lonely, ill and old persons, the nursing homes for the increasing number of old people, the social activities available for them, the special aids, and the contributions totalling several million forints. For example, socialist brigades kept the old people's homes and the nursing homes in good repair. The union organizations of the enterprises supplied the social employers with surplus materials. Newer and newer retiree clubs and nursing homes were built nationwide through a social effort. Young persons and school children keep visiting old persons in need of help. Every megye made joint efforts to further improve the retirees living conditions.

Participants at the conference unanimously expressed their intention of continuing to help prepare older people for retired life and to solve the possible problems of the retirees everyday lives. The same way as they did in the Year of the Elderly.

#### Health Care in Capital

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 May 83 p 5

[Text] Health care in the capital has improved, and the differences between the basic services in the various districts have been diminished, said the presidential council of the Budapest Council of Trade Unions at its Tuesday meeting, summarizing the results in integrating health institutions on the basis of proposals made by the capital city council's main department of health. This measure greatly decreased the crowdedness of individual hospitals by making the admittance policy independent from district boundaries. The discontinuation of admittance according to districts benefited mainly residents of the capital city's peripheries, for they had been admitted for years to hospitals located in densely populated districts. However, the presidential council emphasized that a few hospitals are still overcrowded.

Basic service was improved, and the differences between the districts were diminished, by the fact that hospitals assumed the management of district and special health centers located in their area. The presidential council emphasized that the changes in themselves give only a possibility for the improvement of health care; the physicians can also contribute through even more careful decisions, e.g. by sending patients for clinical tests only when justified and without hospitalization.

9414

CSO: 2500/272

## IDEOLOGICAL CONSOLIDATION OF INTELLECTUAL LEFT URGED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish, No 17, 24 Apr 83 p 1, 3

[Article by Wieslaw Rogowski]

[Text] Polish contemporary history has been made mainly by the workers; its image and vision, however, are shaped first of all by the intelligentsia. And that too is in the mind and imagination of the class hegemony. This is what is meant by the intelligentsia's participation in culture. To speak more simply, if it were not for teachers, educators, writers, artists, men of science and particularly those whose activity and spoken word touches upon politics and ideas or else it simply creates them or is them, social awareness would not be so badly off as it is now or so well off for those of the right who believe it to be the case.

The heart of the matter is not in the spontaneous shifting to the Right of the views of segments of social groups as a result of intellectual penetration of new facts and historical analyses or of political scientific descriptions. On the contrary, it consists of the fact that the people under the pressure of a storm of historical events lost their clarity of views, and this loss is interpreted by the Right to its own benefit. In the meantime, the effect is mainly that of a broken mirror--the man who looks at the world perceives ever-different and contradictory, distorted or coincidental reflections of a certain detail pulverized almost into sand. If he is experienced and wise he will be able to guess the rest; if not, then he will not be able to piece together anything by himself. This is why he would rather accept somebody else's view, because he himself looking in despair at a broken mirror will easily believe that the truth fell part too.

The need to know the truth, which is as strong as physical hunger, demands of us that we attempt to make Polish society aware that all deviations to the Right constitute for it a tremendous danger. Not only because such views are false and lead to misleading and false evaluations of history and of reality. First of all, because having as its goal the incitement of national emotions and the flaring up of political hatreds, they serve to sustain the turmoil of emotions and ideas--the more they do so the greater this mixture of detached and shattered reasons, facts and realities. It is necessary to piece them together and bring some order into them. Thus the obligation to truth demands that in this way we oppose the political Right, particularly in the area of science, journalism and teaching, that we undertake, therefore a struggle to



piece together again the image of the world applying binding material as simple and a truth as basic as are the words work, class, justice, misery, wealth, thought and matter, hope and fulfillment, nation and society. It is necessary again to stand on the ground of basic truths, not to shake the dust of the fatherland off our feet and also not to allow that anybody would manage to shove into our mouths a false and strange word pretending it to be our own.

Among the intelligentsia and among the intellectual milieus the dimensions of ideological and political frustrations at the start of the August epoch were so considerable that they led a sizable portion of those people to a state of aggression, to violent denials and St Peter-like negation of one's own views. And still today they make it impossible for a not-small part of them to recover an objective point of reference, without which there can be no ability to compare or to analyze. Are we allowed to be reconciled with such a state of desintegration harmful for the Polish case, enlarged on by conscious enemies and by incidental opponents? Doesn't there occur an irresistible necessity to form again an ideological-political platform which would lead to the overcoming of those divisions? That means to overcome their most harmful effects. And first of all to amassing, uniting and crystallizing a trend of social and political thought which would mean a new formation of the intellectual Left in Polish contemporary culture.

Who Is It All About?

If we give up hair-splitting then we will know more or less about whose consolidation we are talking about: most probably of those intellectuals, scientists, writers, columnists and artists but also of economists, engineers, teachers, physicians or even priests who recognize their intellectual adherence to socially-progressive and thus anticapitalist and prosocialist trend, to speak in most general terms. It is first of all an opting for social democracy, if we forget a few details.

Are we allowed to use as the differentiating factor the adherence to a set of views in the sense that a leftist intellectual can be a person electing Marxism or an atheist, but not a Christian or a socially-progressive Catholic? Such a differentiating factor cannot be used, because it refers to other fields--not social and political but ideological. It would then be a closely related question to this one: if someone is a Catholic who chooses socialism here on earth, that concrete real socialism full of mistakes, as we know, but also full of hope, and someone else considers himself to be a materialist or even subjectively a Marxist and at the same time speaks against social and state ownership of the means of production, then which of the two people is "more to the Left"?

I put "more to the Left" in ironic quotation marks because it is nonsensical to speak of a degree here; but in life, let us remember, it used to be applied, and the answer was ostentatiously publicized. The question of the criteria of who belongs to the intellectual Left and the spread of this notion, which is of immense importance, should be treated seriously. From this depends today the manner in which are viewed the tasks of that sector of culture which so far perhaps has not been distinctly situated in the panorama of

political views and actions. And also the reach of mutual activity and the sense of differentiation and crystallization of distinctiveness in the depth of this trend of thought and politics.

### Not Philosophy Alone

The process of ideological and political splitting of the world is not justified by the elite-and-masses differentiation of world-view and of philosophy, for instance, into materialistic and religious, or into atheists and clericalists. In reality it is propelled by what rightist and procapitalist forces and by leftist and therefore socialist forces. That means in concrete and realistic terms that it depends on a declared and real attitude toward the system of ownership of the means of production, first of all, in industry. In fact we observe attempts of new social regulations in the slogans of, for instance, Islamic socialism, examples of the participation of Catholic priests in revolutionary movements and revolutionary governments such as in Nicaragua or, on the other hand, the procapitalists attitude of philosophical materialists. Thus the criterion to belong and participate in the trend of leftist intellectualism is not necessarily one's philosophy but certainly one's social and political views. This is why, let us say it clearly, it is not so much philosophical outlooks proper or ensuring differences in world-views as the ideological attitude toward the system of ownership of means or production, toward the manner of division of produced goods and toward the degree of participation of working people in the achievements of culture and civilization, that is the border separating most generally the Left of the Polish intelligentsia from the Right. Among the Left we can be fully justified to count those Catholics and Christians who, led by the social doctrine of Christianity, see in it a call to proletarian-oriented social, economic, cultural and political changes, thus taking a position in obvious collision with the socially-conservative wing of Catholicism, which treats its doctrine as if it were totally, inflexibly, in conflict with the obvious temporal needs.

Catholics and Christians who differ from traditionalists in their understanding of, for instance, such notions as democracy, in harmony with the nature of things and of truth see in this, first of all, a command to fight against the humiliating poverty of man and against social injustice. Indigence, exploitation and social injustice force a man to be dependent, subject him to the rich and restrain him in his choices to zero in almost everything. Among the broad ranks of the intellectual Left we should also count those who in their treaties and views treat human freedom as a liberation from poverty and exploitation. In the sphere of man's ideological choices they see this freedom as something natural, in harmony with the nature of man, while tolerance they perceive as a form of respect understood and necessary for that freedom. We will also count here those who stress in science the freedom to search and who take risks for research which they understand as an obvious duty taking at the same time the liberty to penetrate their subject as unlimited to the extent that nature understood in its broadest sense allows. And not heeding barriers of inexplicable taboos or dogmatic orders of any kind. Those who do heed taboos are the least likely allies of the Left. Particularly those nonmarxists who in spite of the perhaps traditional connections of their ideology, philosophy or belief with

nonsocialist political programs and almost in spite of historical tradition, make or made a definite class choice: in Central America, in Poland, everywhere.

### Concrete Attitudes

Why is the problem of the intellectual Left in Polish culture, the consolidation of the forces of intelligentsia and of intellectuals with leftist-socialist leanings of such essential significance? Because in the Poland of 1983 there is, in my opinion, no chance to conduct such a cumbersome and far-reaching operation as a struggle to overcome an economic crisis through economic reform or of formulating simple but precise and authentic goals for young workers, members of the intelligentsia and peasants--without a change in mass attitudes and without a livening up of the sources of common psychic energy, without the concentration of the serious forces of the national intellect and without directing them to the benefit of this cause. It is not the workers alone, not even those who have a sense of their class and of the obligations which result from it and from the political privileges in socialism, who will be able to overcome the resistance of history which here, with us, took on the shape of unfinished investments, unpaid debts, empty stores and also, of a passive waiting for a miracle. There are no miracles and there will not be, at least not in the economy. There is, however, a need to intensify the work of man and his society. Not only organizers are needed, but also those who can awaken people's faith and hope again, who can clearly point to goals and to the moral justifications of their power.

I believe that in spite of all breakdowns and transformations in this stratum, the followers of the Left, their allies and advocates form an important part of all the intelligentsia and of intellectual groups. This applies, I think, particularly to those who are already grown and formed, those with some accomplishments, although this is not a rule because such people are found also among the young. The task of the people's intelligentsia, that is, the one educated for service to the socialist society, is to awaken the energy for living and for action, to quicken thought and the innovative abilities, restoring the emotional balance of our Polish collective community. Is this intelligentsia exactly such as to be aware of its own calling and of its simple, dramatic duty? Does it know what it should be doing? In my opinion, there is not a feeling among young people of belonging to the social Left. Neither there is any emotional connection with it or a need to surrender to its order for decency which says that whatever you took you must return and best of all, with a surplus. Sometimes the belief is lacking in their own intellectual and professional usefulness in society.

The awareness of personal human usefulness is probably something different, although not less important, than concrete usefulness in production and work. And so the idea is proposed that all who on account of their intellectual duties work and due to their intellectual call have influence on others should broadly strengthen this most important feeling of the personal usefulness of people and of their faith in just Poland. I believe that overcoming the crisis will be fully possible only then. And that is not because the lazy will be chased to work, but above all, because men disappointed and anxious

about the future will regain their sense of security and their belief in the purposefulness of their work and in the righteousness of their options for the Left and for socialism. I do not know whether I express myself clearly enough, but I think that we can speak with equal success about socialist relations in production as about socialist optimism and the reality of the chances that a man and society have. An imbalance between these two is something of a sickness, it is a destruction of general principles, it forms a symptom of deformation or the effects of a lack of foresight on the part of those groups which govern. Whatever bitter and true things we say on this topic, man's attitudes and social opinion depend in many cases on opinion-forming forces which, to a large degree, are the intelligentsia and the intellectuals. Their ideological attitudes, their political aims and hopes form areas peculiar to them, however they interlock with the aspirations and strivings of the rest of society or else they form and objectivize these.

### The Place for Marxists

The disagreement over the class criteria of evaluation and at the same time, over building social programs based on these, has lasted in Poland until today, and began long ago. However, today it has acquired a particularly sharp expression. It has led to polarization of points of view in the fundamental questions and to the uncovering of differences and divisions, among the intellectuals, as well among the masses of intelligentsia. However, the new process of crystallization of the intellectual Left and of its consolidation does not appear as simple as those divisions were.

There is an essential reservation, however: true Marxists, that is those whose philosophical program justifies and is in agreement with their social program, with the socialist practice which it builds and in which it puts life, will always be counted among the intellectual Left which they created. Moreover, they form the basic if not the only force and content of the label: intellectuals of the political Left of contemporary Poland.

The Marxists, but not exclusively those who do not realize this limitation, treat dogmatically the concrete, historically-conditioned thoughts of the creators of this philosophy and ideology-Marx, Engels and Lenin. Also those who are so often counted hastily and unfoundedly by the former among the revisionists, search, not without a risk, for applications of class ideas of Marxism-Leninism to contemporary social, political and scientific-technical conditions. Today's Marxism neither ends where quotations from the classics end, nor does it begin there, as some suggest for effect.

Marxism at least exists, I judge, when the class criteria or societal analysis and policy are used: when the evaluation of historical processes is based on the principles of historical materialism, and the general method of researching social relations which sees the roots of those relations in the handling of the means of production, whose mainly the business and not only ideas the principal subject of analysis is action and not ideas and finally when according to Marxist dialectics, contradictions are uncovered and recognized as the motor and essence of social and other phenomena even if they arouse our complete surprise, creating finally a new unity. It does not mean at

all that it would be contrary to Marxist method to search for new specific features and sides to every phenomenon, perhaps even one more complex or sublime as, for instance, art. However, it would be contradictory and it would be an undialectal vision of Marxism-Leninism to reject those principles. Here on the margin is the supplement: clericalism, just like hard-core sectarianism becomes dangerous first of all for people of its own trends and structures, depriving it of authenticity and growth. The thing is that in both cases it becomes garrote strangling freedom, thought and hope.

The greatest danger today is the attack by the Right, since it aims at atomizing concepts and the state of awareness of the Left until its complete destruction. This current of conservative backwardness and reaction is being revived in the form of counterrevolutionary programs. Let us put aside the question of disoriented people who doubt or who are lost. It is those who, with premeditation, warm up the backward concepts of history, ideology and politics, and attempt to deform the achievements of the Left, to revive Piludskiites' or rightist agrarian programs, to incite an anti-Sovietism which always is irrational and false because it is contrary to the interests of Poland. What kind of Pole would attack those who guarantee the inviolability of Polish borders and would ask for favors of those who want to break up those borders and ruin them? Moreover, the look for allies and sponsors where there never has been any friendship but always hatred and never any disinterestedness. These are the results of falling prey to rightist inspirations. All those who undermine the conviction present in society that the socialist program of the social Left constitutes the only maximal prospect for Poland are either liars or enemies or both.

Not always and not everywhere are the dangers of an increase in effectiveness of the social Right and of its ideological and political concepts appreciated. The possibility of recreating class divisions barely hidden in the slogan of reprivatization of the economy and of production or hidden deeply in the concept of group ownership, is taken lightly. The effects of passivity in research and writers' output on the part of Marxist scientists is underestimated in those areas which formerly were taboo and today they are freely penetrated and exploited by reactionaries.

The proximity of anti-Sovietism and of pro-Piludskiite programmatic attitudes are not sufficiently clearly noticed nor are contemporary extreme political trends of the Right, and the black anarchism and terrorism or neofascism which was always nourished by the force of the aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie and supported by populist slogans. First of all, the necessity to consolidate the forces of the entire intellectual Left, starting with Catholic progressives through Marxist-Leninists in the struggle for ideological and political government of souls in Poland, while first saving the country from difficulties, is not properly appreciated. For this one pays with one's life. True, this is an unusually difficult task in the fact of past mistakes, and because the argument and struggle must take place in fields surrendered some time ago out of laziness or fear of other forces, and also in situations in which it is necessary to convince that their words are true while the facts continue to be not sufficiently convincing.

The duty to consolidate the foundations and groups of the Left within the masses of intelligentsia and of the formation of a strong trend of Left intellectualism in contemporary Poland is one of the most important, most dramatic needs of a growing culture and society. If today's Polish culture, both artistic and political, will develop without the conscious, active participation of the lively trend of the Left, then the course of ideological life and of social thought may sidetrack far from the basic directions of socialist changes in social existence and may become alienated from it. And this simply must not be allowed to be.

9971

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Precongress PRON Development of Attitude

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 3

/Text/ In the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the precongress campaign is continuing. One of its basic aims is the discussion of the declaration and the statutory principles of the movement. Here are remarks, suggestions and thoughts on this subject by PRON activist Dr Witold Dabrowski, ward head of the Surgical Department of the Health Care Team in Tomaszow (Mazurian).

PRON is a platform of activity for everyone who holds dear the development of our fatherland, lying not in some ideal point in the world but in the middle of Europe, on the Vistula, and in a time of a complicated international situation. The declaration and the principles of the PRON statute are a document which every person should get to know, including youth, who in a few years will be our reality.

In point 1 of the PRON declaration, given as the roots of the crisis were: "the low level of trade ethics and lack of respect for work," "the persistent occurrence of social plagues," and "the broad areas of indifference." These are causes aside from the material sphere, but influencing it, causes which have been developing for many years and result, in my opinion, from educational negligence, from a lack of observing norms of social coexistence, not only by "authority" which is spoken of so often, but above all by us citizens, and also from a lack of consistency by the authorities in exacting from all of society observation of duties and laws. For that reason, in the point of the declaration "Ideological Principles of the Movement", the primary values leading to an understanding and an improvement in the existing situation is rightly mentioned. In my opinion, however, on this point, the importance of education and development of the young generation in exactly the view of the roots of the present crisis cited in the declaration would have to be acknowledged as a primary value. The point, however, is education based not on rhetoric and utopian ideas, but on concrete everyday realistic examples and models, models which are verifiable, tangible, and believable.



In point 5 of the declaration, "Directions of Activity," listed among the current goals were in first place, "the concentration of the efforts of society and the authorities to overcome the present crisis, and the implementation of economic reform." In my opinion, an equally important thing, and maybe the most important one in the current goals should be the focusing of all of society and the authorities on overcoming the structures of thinking, habits and customs, and on a change in attitude towards work and to a proper evaluation of this work. This, as I have already said, is beyond the material sphere, but in a basic and crucial way influences it.

What I am saying is not very popular but without consistent observation of the law, in the full meaning of the word, by all of society and by the authorities, without equal treatment of everyone in terms of law, we will not make a step forward with a change in the structure of habits and customs. Let us not fear if the law will be strict as long as it is equal for everyone, and this not only in theory and in declarations but in practice.

It is difficult in a short answer to deal with particular points and questions of the declaration of PRON. For me personally the declaration and the statutory principles in its general outline do not excite great doubts and reservations. Certainly, various groups and individuals may have comments, reservations and suggestions as to formulations, forms and even content of individual questions. But is this of greatest importance at present? In my opinion, the declaration and statutory principles of PRON arise from a deep feeling of responsibility on the part of the people united in this movement. However, the forms and ways of practical activity will be created and developed in the course of work.

In the past we had very many good creative declarations, resolutions and orders, only how often was it mere words, fiction, unreal and unrealistic, not observed by citizens and by the authorities. Let the activity of PRON, based on the declaration and statute proclaimed at the congress, be real and verifiable, earning the positive evaluation of society. But the authorities, too, must be accountable and authoritative. It seems to me that only with patience, diligence, reason, and thought can we be closer to the planned goal, going this rather uneven road.

#### PRON in Polish Political System

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 18 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by Lucjan Pracki: "From a Discussion on the PRON Declaration. Where Does it Fit in the System?"

/Text/ In the discussion of the draft of the declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, much space is taken by the problem of its place in the political system of People's Poland. This matter is unusually important and opinions are divided.

The fifth chapter of the declaration contains the significant statement that the movement is a lasting value in our political system. Because the declaration

also expresses views of the signers of the movement, and of political and social organizations, the mentioned statement and also the legal designation of the role of PRON by the Sejm show that we are dealing here not with a tactical course by the authorities, as the opponents of the movement suggest, but with a design of a new systemic solution.

What is PRON supposed to be then? The declaration first of all says what it will not be. It will not be an institution of authority and it will not discharge authority vis-a-vis state organs, self-governing bodies or social and political organizations. Its strength and significance has to depend on the strength of applied arguments and on the kind of allies it gains for its ideals and convictions. The strength of the movement, as evident in the declaration, depends also on the presence in it of the signers of the declaration of 20 July 1982, since the mutual position shaped in fraternal discussion may have a great influence and consequent strength. The declaration stipulates, however, that the signers of the movement do not have any privileges in the organization other than the place guaranteed for them in PRON structures.

In turn, relative to the state administration, PRON would have the right to declare initiatives and demands as well as authorization to oversee in the areas designated in legal acts. But suggestions resulting from this control would not have binding strength for controlled institutions and could only be made public, discussed with interested institutions and authorities, and directed to representative bodies.

I have already participated in many discussions on this subject so I will not say that people have been satisfied with these last proposals. Some activists especially are downright disappointed with them. I am mentioning their opinions because, in my opinion, the fate of the movement of revival depends to a large degree on its systemic and legal powers.

They say that the declaration presents the matter too cautiously; it allocates for the movement a place too modest relative to social needs and expectations. Since this movement in practice can do so little, and the signers who can support the position agreed upon are really its whole hope, such a movement will never be a strong partner of the state authorities. Maybe it would gain general support right away but after all that is not likely. But a weak movement must have some perceptible influence, both on the authorities and on society. Therefore, will not the situation be repeated in which the mountain gives birth to a mouse? ask the critics of the declaration.

I think that their apprehensions should not be taken lightly. Certainly, the rebirth movement cannot be an authority, a supercontroller of the state administration nor a party for nonparty members. In general, everyone agrees with this. But between the unjustified control and the solutions proposed in the declaration there still exists a whole gamut of other possibilities. The right to make proposals and demands to the administration means little if they are not treated according to a set procedure. Control, the results of which bind no one and nothing, means equally little. We have more than enough such controls and the result is known. So, some sensible utilization of postcontrol proposals should have been put forward in the declaration. It is said that the

extent of control of PRON will be determined by the Sejm but there is a lack of clear suggestions of what kind of framework to give this control.

The role of the movement vis-a-vis the Sejm and the national councils was defined too generally, say the critics of the declaration. In it it is said that at the PRON forum a discussion of the candidates for delegates and councilmen will take place, that the movement will simplify, for voters, an evaluation of the activity of selected representatives, and finally, it is to initiate the social process of the formation of law as well as address drafts of the resolutions. In the opinion of some of those who took part in the discussion, this is much too little.

Why, they ask, was there not presented, at least as an alternative, in the declaration of the draft for other solutions, for example, the right of the movement to advance its own candidates for delegates and councilmen, or their recall in cases when social expectations are disappointed?

The rebirth movement must be a bold and competent movement in presenting social opinion if it is to really mean something. The place that the declaration proposes for it in the fourth chapter, in the opinion of many participants, does not guarantee this.

Of course, the tasks and authorization of the movement is more broadly treated in the fifth chapter and the declaration must be read in entirety, but the position of the movement, despite that, is unsatisfactory. Therefore, it is good that the declaration is the subject of general discussion.

#### Insufficient Willpower in PRON Declarations

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 25, 26, 27 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by Ryszard Niemiec: "On the Declaration. Too Little Fighting Spirit"/

/Text/ Considering the possibilities of establishing a national rebirth movement not only in the Polish political system but above all in the consciousness of society, many people look for an intellectual stimulus in the history of the last four decades. These searches are bringing, because they must bring, optimistic prognoses. The trend of thought is roughly outlined here.

Indeed, during the German occupation, the building of a base for a national patriotic front undertaken by the leftist camp at the inspiration of the PPR /Polish Workers' Party/ did not bring about the planned achievements; though the National Front created from above in 1952 did not develop even for a moment beyond the facade of a bureaucratic creature and was the first to collapse at the first hint of thaw, the Front of National Unity, despite the burden of genetic sins, earned recognition, especially as a result of organic activity. The new formation originating and developing on the soil of the experiences of our predecessors guarding against repeating their mistakes, improving their qualities and contribution points to the attempts for social participation with

considerable hopes despite having certain handicaps. There is nothing more harmful than such an optimistic comprehension of the role of PRON against the background of our most recent history.

PRON simply has a much more difficult task, despite appearances, than its predecessors. It acts on a land burned by the disappointment and disillusionment of years of unfulfillment, in addition not having such a moral-political unifying element and argument which those had who, before Dobraczynski, stormed the walls of prejudice, shock and fears. There is no rallying point, like once there was, in the form of slogans calling the nation to a common fight with an external enemy; there is no goal of restoring the country from ashes that is irresistible to the young; there is no feeling of the wind of history blowing in the back of the followers of a great change as took place in October 1956.

Stanislaw Krasowski from the Brudzyn State Farm, activist from Greater Poland, delegate to the voivodship conference of PRON said:

I am disappointed at how little the 37-year anniversary contributed to building national unity. We did too little. I am not negating the accomplishments of this period but I think that to gain true unity of Poles it will still be necessary to work long and hard.

It is a long way then to the goal. While reaching it, what must we do to avoid just marching in place so that it will not appear, as was our predecessors' experience, that much time passed, much energy was spent, but the distance ahead of us is the same and the goal demands the exertion of violently exuberant constructing. It would be easiest to demand a strict settling in of the movement in the socialist picture of the PRL. However, reading the declaration of PRON, I have the impression that the authors did not take into consideration the reasons for failures, passing on a generational error. From this surely comes the not too offensive distribution of stress between what PRON wants to be and what it is trying to be. This enumeration of the areas which it is not going into sounds a little procrastinating. There are no doubts about renouncing the inclination of being a fourth party, or ruling on the basis of a sovereign state administration, but doubts automatically appear where the declaration is not able to define the course and execution of announcing proposals and demands of PRON units to state offices and institutions. If these types of initiatives proceeding from the ranks will not have an obligatory way of being processed and considered, they will become a monster of administrative reality which we know by the cryptonym "information accepted." Also the whole system of control undertaken with stubbornness by social workers under the banner of OKONists will prove to be a waste of time if the results of penetration are not binding on anyone or anything. It will be 2 years since at the national council level there was a ceremonial introduction to the ranks of the presidia of the national councils ruling local units of social control. Where are these structures today, what are they doing, what kind of future do they have? The question is more than rhetorical.

Speaking for the first time on the front page on the matter of the future of the rebirth movement, I made a proposal of the necessity of equipping it with a realistic systemic instrument, as are the constitutional right of giving one's opinion and voting for candidates for delegates and councilmen. It is not

necessary to search too far for models of these types of solutions. The possibility of advancing candidates and the possibility of recalling Sejm delegates are not privileges, but rather a constitutional guarantee for a movement of a total society character. It is a shame that the authors of the declaration did not want to remind the citizens about this fact of our system while drafting the fourth chapter of the document. In this way, they took from it potential strength, losing the opportunity to reinforce the prestige of PRON, something which should be strongly pursued.

#### Positions in Precongress PRON Campaigns

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 26, 27 Mar 83 p 2

/Article by Cz. Z., Kama, K/

/Text/ The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is preparing for its congress. In units of the movement, meetings and programs-election conferences are taking place. Last Thursday and Friday, PRON delegates met at Baluty, Polesie, and Gorna, in Pabianice, Zgierz, Konstantynow, Ogorkow, Brojce, Glowna, Aleksandrow, Strykow, and Zgierz Gmina.

Reports from several conferences are given below.

#### Polesie

Nearly 100 delegates met yesterday at the PRON conference in Polesie. The report of the activity of the Neighborhood Council was presented by its chairman, Dr Zbigniew Wawrzaszek. He stated, "In our ranks we have a whole cross section of our society and that is the greatest strength of the movement, the guarantee of its good fortune."

Included in the more important tasks in the activity of the Polesie PRON will be the disseminating of information on the movement, drawing to it young workers, employees of cultural organizations, and incorporating social organizations in it.

Participants in the meeting obliged the Neighborhood Council of PRON to work out an appeal directed to the inhabitants of Polesie and the voivodship on the matter of the popularization and material support for construction of the Mother of Poland monument.

At yesterday's PRON conference in Polesie, 17 delegates were chosen for the Voivodship Congress of PRON and two delegates to the congress. Chosen as delegates to the PRON congress were: Dr Krzysztof Chomiczewski, employee of WAM /Apparatus and Machine Plant/, and Zbigniew Wawrzaszek, director of the Institute of the Textile Industry.

#### Baluty

One hundred forty-eight delegates representing the Baluty PRON met at the first conference to select their representatives to the Voivodship Congress of PRON

and to the National Congress. The meeting was opened by first secretary of KD /District Committee/ PZPR of Baluty, Bohdan Cegielski.

Next, the chairman of TDR /Provisional City Section Council/ of PRON, Kazimierz Zielinski, in his report said: "We are forced continually to analyze our actions so that they are genuine and not superficial. We are therefore looking for authentic activists who know how to win over and unite people for a common Polish concern.

In the course of the discussion, delegates pointed out the need for undertaking activities for the improvement of public order, educational care for youth and children, and strengthening the activity of self-government of the populace.

At the PRON conference in Baluty, 25 delegates were elected to the voivodship Congress and 3 to the National Congress of PRON. At the congress, Baluty will be represented by: Antoni Kazimierczak, chairman of the Cepelia Work Cooperative, Jan Kurek, retiree, and Eugeniusz Pakulski, chief mechanic at the Marchlewski ZPB.

#### Gorna

"Our movement does not claim to represent everyone," said the chairman of TDR PRON in Gorna, Dr Antoni Blichowski at the PRON conference held on Friday. "But we are eager because we want everyone to be with us..."

One hundred fifty-four delegates devoted the major portion of the discussion to the legal authority of PRON. Our movement, said Ireniusz Selerowicz, must have the opportunity of analyzing the decisions of the local authorities. We must have our own media, said another speaker. Particularly energetic was the group of activists from Stare Chojny settlement which demanded an improvement in the living conditions of the people. It is also imperative, they said, to attend to the very polluted Jan Pools because after all the Mother of Poland monument is to be there.

During the election of 20 delegates to the voivodship Congress there was a misunderstanding. It was unanimously acknowledged that elections had to be open after which it appeared that 24 candidates were announced. Most of the delegates were in favor of removing the last four from the list, electing the rest en bloc. This caused protests by the remaining delegates. Finally, the elections were repeated, voting openly for each of the 24 delegates. Elected as delegates to the congress were: Dr Antoni Blichowski, ward head of the Surgical Department of the K Jonscher hospital, and Adam Nonas, journalist from the EXPRESS ILUSTROWANY /Illustrated Express/.

#### Pabianice

At the PRON conference, in Pabianice, 108 participants in the movement met. The chairman of TRM PRON Stanislaw Wiacek said that it is necessary to move into the next stage of activity to establish the formal legal status of PRON in the state system. Currently, it is necessary to evaluate the work of the people who created this movement, devoting to it their time and abilities.

During the meetings it was stated that PRON has in Pabianice opponents and instigators who, for example, attacked appeals by PRON urging general understanding. The participants said a lot about the need for citizen dialogue linking and uniting people regardless of age and views. The monument will still incorporate in practice everything that aims at simplifying the life of the people and brings law and order.

The urban conference of PRON in Pabianice elected eight delegates to the Voivodship Congress and two to the National Congress. Going to the congress will be Jerzy Baranowski, retiree Kazimierz Brzezinski, secretary of KM PZPR.

#### Ozorkow

At its conference yesterday, 66 delegates of the Ozorkow PRON concentrated their attention on the occurrences of social pathology, and economical improvement in settlements and the city. There was also discussion on what type of declaration and statutory principles of PRON there should be.

Two persons are going from Ozorkow to the Voivodship Congress, and Marek Wiech, teacher of LO /General Education Secondary School/ is going to the National Congress.

#### Konstantynow Lodzki

Twenty-three participants in the PRON conference in Konstantynow came to the conclusion that in the communities of this town there are no great reservations as to the program contained in the declaration of the movement. Only some of the participants in the 19 community meetings, as for example in PER Eltor, reacted negatively to the idea of understanding.

At the conference, much was said about the principles of regulating campaigning for the Sejm and national councils. Full democratization was demanded. Some thought that it is still too early for a discussion on new campaign regulations.

Elected as a delegate to the PRON congress was Tadeusz Skirzynski, engineer from ZPW Konstilana. Also, two delegates to the Voivodship Congress were elected.

#### Brojce

A lively discussion lasting almost 4 hours took place at the PRON conference in Brojce. Twenty-eight of its participants discussed almost all the problems in the gmina. Among other things farmers criticized the current system of transferring farm properties.

Going to the PRON congress is Mieczslaw Szewczyk, chairman of RSP (Agricultural Producer Cooperative) of Wiskitno, and to the Voivodship Congress, Jan Michalak, farmer from Wola Rakowa.



## PRON Appearing Everywhere

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 p 5

/Article by Jerzy Rudzi: "Present Everywhere"/

/Text/ The City-Gmina Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Czaplinek, numbering 45 members, was established 17 January 1983 based on the Committee for National Rebirth which was set up 1 year earlier. Moreover, several plant and rural OKONs are functioning, bringing together about 180 activists. In the evaluation of the political situation and social atmosphere, the Czaplinek activists of the movement are realists. They do not revel in their successes, but they have the consciousness of their own achievements, and of a broad social significance of the activities they have undertaken. They know that only concrete actions convince sceptics and crumble the wall of indifference and a wait-and-see attitude. And the field of activity is large, full of unresolved matters.

In this situation in a small community even a repaired sidewalk on the street on which you waded up to your ankles in mud can become a political issue. From the view of this and dozens of seemingly minor matters of this type, the authorities are evaluated, as is the need for the existence of PRON if it contributes its hand to their arrangement. And vice versa.

This and many other matters were discussed at the PRON council in the framework of the preCongress programs-election campaign of the movement and also later during the discussion after the meeting which I encouraged a few activists to attend...

Zdzislaw Jankowski, vice-chairman of the council, party activist and state farm employee, said: "We are working in a difficult period. Not everyone is in favor of our movement, many people are indifferent. The movement does not offer any benefits or privileges, contrarily, it requires involvement and devoting free time to it. Yet, sympathizers come; something is changing in the attitudes of people. I think that this is caused by our initiatives and activities. And only such concrete facts count."

Leon Krzykacz, retiree, chairman of the national council, said: "Regardless of various political turns and everyday difficulties affecting people's thinking and behavior, Czaplinek society is attached to its city, self-sacrificing, ready to roll up its sleeves, if it sees the sense and usefulness of such actions. Not long ago, from the NFOZ /National Health Protection Fund/ centers a new modern medical clinic was built at a cost of over 10 billion zloties. We estimate our own contribution and that of society at 4 million. And moreover, please show me where in the region and maybe in the country in the course of a year and a half such a donation will be made. This is also the contribution our work enterprises and municipal authorities which gave far reaching aid."

Boleslaw Koblanski, head of the city and gmina, said: "Czaplinek has enormous arrears in municipal, educational and cultural investments. How are things today? Everyone well knows that it is difficult to quickly settle the debts of

many years. And after all both the authorities and PRON have ambitions to establish, for the 700-year anniversary of the city, a new school, preschool, nursery, bring in gas, and settle many matters of this type. In each of these undertakings, we want to participate by our own work and funds. And around these vital problems for society people are uniting for the common good."

So the picture of achievements and tasks undertaken by the Czaplinek PRON is developing. PRON perceives its role as stimulating social initiative, civic vigilance, creating for the system accessible communication between the citizen and the administration, and appearing in the character of a creative pressure group in all areas of social life.

One of the most important matters for Czaplinek is the construction of a new comprehensive school. The situation is dramatic. School properties are old, decapitalized, and lacking supplies. Everything is tight. There is a lack of elemental conditions for teaching and educational work, and overcrowding of youth. In the new school year it will be necessary to transport children to one of the rural affiliated schools in Plawna.

Efforts toward a new school and preschool and a teacher's house have been crowned with success. Construction of these will begin in a few months. Boleslaw Koblanski assured PRON activists of this. The city is offering its own significant contribution: it is relocating the old power and water systems, fixing up the construction site, acquiring valuable cable by regular methods. On 1 July 1983, the builders will be able to start work. Will they complete the job for the 700-year anniversary of Czaplinek in 1986? The normal construction cycle lasts 4 years. They think they will be able to shorten it.

And for now it is necessary to undertake other activities, for example, the matter of teacher housing. There already is initial agreement from FSM headquarters in Bielsko-Biala for renting one of the resort buildings for this purpose. In this way, a few dozen units will be gained.

A new four-department preschool is a beautiful prospect, but it is also necessary to improve the unusually difficult conditions in which the two city preschools are currently working. Here too there is a lack of supplies and the general condition of the two buildings is exceptionally poor. In one of them there is no kitchen. Meals for children are brought in from the cafeteria of Telkom-Telcza /Telecommunications Engineering Equipment and Subassemblies Works/.

There can be only one solution: it is necessary to build, between the two preschools located next to each other, a special connecting structure with an appropriate supply base and equipment. The cost of the undertaking has been calculated at 15 million. If they collect half, they will be able to count on the aid of the voivodship.

PRON activists and councilment appealed to self-sacrifice of the work crews, and of society. Today, it is not enough to only point out some kind of need or problem. It is also necessary to convince people. And they have been convinced to a great degree. A social committee has been established and an account has been opened in the bank. There are already pledges by enterprises in the area

of 1 million zloties, and we may today speak about a total from various sources of 3 million zloties. They are counting on further pledges, assistance by the crews with labor and equipment, and the participation of the rich owners of resort centers, and of course on funds from the budget excess. When will construction of the connecting structure begin? I heard that said if we collect 30 percent of the required sum this year, we will undertake this urgent task in the near future. The PRON council, and earlier the Committee for National Rebirth, made other demands. It may be said today that their realization, though not without problems, is already considerably advanced. The renovation of the Czaplinianka building, which once housed a hotel and restaurant, is continuing. And though advancing at a snail's pace, the builders guarantee that work will be completed on time. In this way, there will be 12 new housing units. Also, two libraries, a public and a children's, will move here and gain much better work conditions. In turn, in the public library, a museum area, so necessary in Czaplinek, will be located.

Czaplinek has a beautifully situated ampitheater with 1,500 seats, an ideal place for concerts and shows both for the local population and the many tourists, vacationing youth groups, and camps which come here. Unfortunately, the building does not have appropriate facilities. It is not strange then that well known groups rarely appear here. However, the paperwork has already been done, some of our own resources have already been collected, and counting on volunteer work by the local populace and youth as well as the help of the Culture Department of the Voivodship Office, modernization of the ampitheater is still planned to begin in 1983.

The renovation of the maternity clinic, so necessary here, is also continuing, and there are favorable prospects for bringing gas to Czaplinek. In the near future the situation in trade and supply should considerably improve, through the creation in Czaplinek of a network of Spolem stores. Society has many reservations toward the monopolist Gmina Cooperative Rural Self-Help which has agreed to relinquish part of its base and to a greater degree also include in its area of activity neglected rural terrain. The construction at the state farm settlement of a large trade pavilion which will be given to Spolem is being completed.

Of the urgent tasks figuring in the plans of PRON and the local authorities is also the construction of a new nursery. It is true that Czaplinek has two nurseries, but as with the preschool, their general condition is really catastrophic. A social committee for the construction of this center has been established, and the paperwork has been done. Still, the realization of this investment will not be easy, like the prospect in general in the entire voivodship health service. There is simply a lack of funds and the NFOZ account is slim. No one here, however, plans to surrender what the city has been promised. We will see.

One question constantly irritates me: the matters presented here, all but ignored, remain in the hands of the administration, of the national council. The Committees for Rebirth and the PRON Council made from them leading points, so to speak, of its program of action for the nearest period. What is going on then? Is a common display the point? The answer which I hear gives much to

think about. The people I have discussed this with have said that PRON wants to be present everywhere, to embrace all significant problems of life by its work and actions to support earlier initiatives and undertake new, to assure them greater penetrating force. After all, only in this way, through fraternal cooperation with the administration of course, can authority and the confidence of the local populace be gained, winning them over to the idea of understanding, and to the conviction that with a common effort, beginning in one's own backyard, can we emerge from the crisis.

And it is clear for everyone that they do not want something for nothing or on credit, or on the basis of manna from heaven, or even on the basis of the examples and actions given here.

Elected as delegates to the Voivodship Congress were: Elzbieta Konopka, secretary of KMig /City-Gmina Committee/ PZPR, Franciszek Goralczyk, chairman of MG /City-Gmina/ Committee of ZSL, Jozef Komorowski, chairman of the Democratic Party circle. Delegates to the regional congress in Zlocieniec, besides those mentioned above, are Zdzislaw Jankowski, vice-chairman of the council of MG PRON, Henryk Krasniewski, representative of FJN /National Unity Front/, Marian Ostrowski, employee of Forest Inspectorate in Czaplinek, Aniela Mikula, farmer from Trzciniec, Czeslaw Trzeciak, employee from Telkom-Telcza, and Maria Rokita, retiree.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES EXAMINED

Gorzow Province PRON Conference

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Article by (sc)/

/Text/ In Gorzow Province the programs-elections campaign in gmina /parish/, city-gmina, and city elements and councils of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth /PRON/ is nearing an end. During meetings of members of this movement lively discussions are being held over the program and over the place and the role of PRON in the life of the nation and of the region, its activities and experiences up till now are being assessed, a number of local problems and ills which need immediate solution are brought forward, worthy social initiatives are advanced. Participants of these meetings also elect delegates to the provincial congress of PRON which will be held in Gorzow on April 8 of this year.

After the lastest meetings of PRON members in Lubiszyn and Drezdenko (on Mar 21 and Mar 22) 147 delegates have already been chosen for the provincial congress. Remaining 8 delegates will be elected by PRON members' meetings in Bledzewo and Debno Lubuskie. These meetings will end the programs-elections campaign of PRON in the province of Gorzow.

Discussion held during the meeting of members of PRON in Lubiszyn covered a wide range of issues. A number of comments and amendments to the proposed Program Declaration of the movement were advanced postulating, among others, wider recognition of problems facing farmers and of the worker-farmer alliance as one of the pillars of national reconciliation and a factor which eliminates economic conflicts between the city and the farm. Difficulties of agricultural production which still exist were indicated as well as those in education in rural areas. A 21-member Gmina Council of PRON headed by Jan Makowski was elected along with two delegates to the provincial congress.

During the course of the conference of the City-Gmina Council of PRON in Drezdenko the work up to now of the movement in the city was assessed and a need for a plan for the area development of Drezdenko was advanced. Also postulated was the return to the contest for the title of master of home-steading which in the past has brought to such places as Drezdenko not only

fame but also socio-economic results. During the discussion over the Program Declaration of PRON, similarly as in Lubiszyn, attention was drawn to the need for wider approach to the problems of farm areas and to the underlining of the importance of the worker-farmer alliance for the future of the country. Also discussed was the conviction that it is only PRON, and no one else, who should draw up the program and the electoral law for the future elections to Sejm and to national councils. Dresdenko conference elected 6 delegates to the provincial congress of PRON.

The approaching provincial congress of this movement will sum up the programs-elections campaign in the territorial elements of PRON and the experiences gained from activities to date, as well as the remarks advanced during the conferences concerning the Program Declaration. It will also draw up a program for future undertakings which will allow to properly direct social activity which has manifested itself during the campaign, to utilize initiatives advanced by PRON members and to overcome indifference or distrust toward this movement which still exist in certain quarters. The course of discussions to date over the proposed Program Declaration and over the constitution allows one to bring into focus the future place and role of PRON in the life of the country and of the region. Generally underlined, among other things, was the necessity for this movement to carry-out a consultative and correctional function in regard to the actions of administrative authorities on most fundamental issues. Also discussed was PRON's role as a peace movement, that it should create a climate for good work and for respect for it and that it should fight against all evil and against social injustice. Such a program and such actions will gain for this movement many new adherents and activists, in other words people who are not indifferent to the fate of the country and of the nation and to the process and the form of socialist renewal.

#### Inowroclaw Pre-Congress PRON Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 15 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Article by (L)/

/Text/ A PRON city conference was held yesterday in Inowroclaw with participation of, among others, Jan Ryszard Blachnio, representative of the presidium of the Temporary Provincial Council /TRM/ of PRON in Bydgoszcz. The talk introductory to the discussion was given by the member of the presidium of TRM PRON, Henryk Kaczmarek. He informed the members that this city conference was preceded by meetings of settlement and factory elements discussing the declaration and the principles of the constitution of PRON. During these meetings in which members of TRM PRON participated the proposed declaration and constitution was discussed at length. Also, 8 delegates to the provincial congress of PRON were elected.

Eight persons took part in the discussion. It was stated that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is continually gaining in respect in the eyes

of society at large. This places an obligation on those active in PRON to increase the activity in their own communities. Those that spoke out, particularly about the young generation, exhibited civic concern. At this time the main functions of education of necessity fall upon the schools and other educational units which are unable to cope with these difficult responsibilities. What's more, due to insufficient supply of instructional materials some of the schools have difficulties in meeting their basic responsibilities. Young married couples have difficulties starting their life together. Attempts by the executive board of the city ZSMP /Polish Socialist Youth Union/ to organize cooperative housing for the young in Inowroclaw have thus far been unsuccessful due to lack of concrete backing by the authorities even though this project is very popular among both young and older people.

These are only some of the critical remarks which we have noted during the deliberations. They will be taken up by the City Council of PRON in Inowroclaw which was formally voted in by the participants of yesterday's deliberations.

During these deliberations 5 delegates to the provincial PRON conference were also elected. There Inowroclaw will be represented by 13 member group in all. Two delegates to the national PRON congress were also elected. They are: Dr Urszula Dobrolubow, medical director of the Spa Hospital in Inowroclaw and chairperson of the City Council of PRON, and Bronislaw Pomiecinski, member of the presidium of the City Council of PRON and an employee of the Regional Supply Command in Inowroclaw.

#### Inowroclaw PRON Conference Delegates

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 8

/Article by (L)/

/Text/ As we have reported previously, a PRON city conference was held in Inowroclaw during which discussion was held on the declaration and constitution of PRON, and delegates were elected to the PRON provincial conference in Bydgoszcz and to the PRON national congress in Warsaw.

Several remarks and observations can now be added to the previously printed information. During the discussion on the proposed declaration and constitution of PRON Regina Kmiec submitted an essential motion which will be passed on for consideration during the national congress of PRON. It is an amendment to the first chapter of the "Declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth" entitled "The Origins of PRON." Renata Kmiec has proposed to change the following sentence: "These aspirations found their expression in the declaration, approved by the movement, of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, PAX Association, Christian Social Association and Polish Catholic Union, of 20 July 1982...". According to the originator of the motion the beginning of the sentence should read: These aspirations found their expression in the activities of OKON /Citizens Committee for National Salvation/ and in the



declaration, approved by the movement, of the Polish United Workers Party..." and then continue without change.

The purpose here is not to forget the merits of OKONs which have undertaken the task of national understanding during the most difficult period. The motion was accepted by the participants of the city conference of PRON and it was incorporated into the final resolution.

In our first report of the city conference of PRON we have listed the names of delegates to the national congress. Before the deliberations on the city level 8 delegates to the provincial conference of PRON in Bydgoszcz were also elected. The following persons received delegate's mandate: Bogdan Grol (Piastowskie Settlement), Zygmunt Fierek (Agromet-Inofama /Agricultural Machinery Factory/), Kazimierz Cichowlas (Inowroclaw Salt Mines), Stefan Mojkowski (PKS), and Sylwester Malecki (teachers' community). At the city conference of PRON additional 5 delegates were elected, namely: Alojzy Cykulski, Maria Galwas, Edward Jastak, Jerzy Krastyn and Mieczyslaw Krysztoforski.

#### Kedzierzyn-Kozle PRON Conference

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by (zan)]

[Text] The activity of the elements of PRON in Kedzierzyn-Kozle has already a several-month old tradition. Since 14 December 1982 their work has been coordinated by the Temporary City Council presided by Alina Jagiella, inspector of education and of behavior training. TRM has worked out a proposed plan of activity and campaign before the national congress of PRON. These documents are now being presented at community meetings and in housing settlements. TRM PRON has met on Mar 9 with the presidium of MRN /Municipal National Council/; during that meeting principles and methods of cooperation were established in order to better solve problems of the city and of its inhabitants.

Yesterday, in turn, the First City Conference of TR PRON deliberated in Kedzierzyn-Kozle. Participating, among others, was Jerzy Bigos, member of TRK PRON, Doc Dr Maria Nowakowska, chairperson of TRW PRON and representatives of municipal authorities. During the discussion considerable time was spent on the role and place of PRON in sociopolitical life. Many persons stressed the opinion that this movement should be the spokesman of public opinion, a forum for clashing of various opinions which would then be passed on to the regional authorities and to the sociopolitical organizations. This movement - it was stressed - may also play a significant role in the coordination of activities directed toward the patriotic formation of children and youth. At the end of deliberations 15 delegates were chosen to the provincial conference of PRON and 3 to the First Congress of PRON. At this highest forum Kedzierzyn-Kozle will be represented by: Wladyslaw Rogucki, Piotr Iwanecki and Henryk Pietruszka.

FURTHER PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Zielona Gora PRON Conference

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by ZG/ZSz: "The PRON Provincial Conference in Zielona Gora; We Have Barely Taken the First Steps on the Path to Overcoming Divisions"]

[Text] With 293 delegates participating, the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provincial Conference deliberated yesterday in Zielona Gora. The conference elected delegates to the First PRON National Congress and thoroughly discussed the movement's primary direction of activities in the region.

Wojciech Judnowiak, chairman of the Provisional PRON WR [Provincial Council] opened the deliberations. Zdzislaw Pilecki, vice chairman of the TKR [Provisional National Council] and ChSS [Christian Social Association] activist, participated in the deliberations along with the following representatives of the organizations that signed the PRON program declaration: Jerzy Dabrowski, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee]; Henryk Stawski, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] WK and member of the National Council; Czeslaw Slowek, president of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] WK; Andrzej Czerny, chairman of the Provincial Department of the PAX Association; and Roman Jedrzejak, chairman of the ChSS OW. Walerian Mikolajczak, governor of Zielona Gora Province, was also present.

The deliberations were conducted by Zbigniew Kubak and Boleslaw Wyrtykus.

PRON gmina [parish] and city councils are operating in all 57 administrative units of the province. In addition, cells of the movement exist in many rural areas, housing settlements, plants, institutions and schools. Social work is being conducted by 179 OKONs.

A total of 4,500 individuals are members of PRON and OKON councils in the province.

PRON activists have assumed as their primary task the recruitment into the movement of all those who desire through joint efforts to overcome mistrust,

and by means of a dialogue and collaboration to resolve the most serious social and national problems.

The formation of a new model for partnership relationships among the coalition forces within the movement is neither easy nor simple. The restoration and creation of public trust require time, patience and peace. As Wojciech Judkowiak said: "We have not yet forged the guidelines of our declaration into social facts; we have barely taken the first steps in this direction."

We are building understanding to overcome existing divisions despite resistance, negations and disputes. We have demonstrated that we will not be brought down by adversity, that overriding national and state affairs should unite us. There is no and cannot be any escape from them. We must believe that we are capable, that we can do it, that we can and must extricate ourselves from our own problems.

An example of "we can" here is Lubsko. This 700-year-old city has undertaken and implemented many valuable initiatives in the area of municipal economy. This is the result of the conviction that only joint, well thought out and organized efforts produce visible results. Very often our inability is a matter of delusion. We must combat these myths and delusions. This is one of the goals of the movement.

In discussing the results of the preCongress campaign, the speaker mentioned the socioeconomic activities of many circles, but he also mentioned the indications of expectations and inactivity. He devoted much attention to removing the causes of indifference and the degenerations in social life, to combating the phenomena of social pathology. PRON is a sociopolitical movement and does not intend to limit its role only to registering public opinion and needs. Its goal is to jointly shape them, to exert influence on the present authorities as well as on social attitudes. It wants to inspire official action to meet the needs of the citizens, to be effectively instrumental in getting everyone to participate in public life.

Zofia Darowska of Zagan was the first one to participate in the discussion. Stating that she represented the nonparty community of farmers, she made many comments concerning fulfilling the needs of the rural areas and agriculture. The Zagan gmina continues to be plagued by bureaucratism, impractical regulations and lack of supplies. Evil and misdeeds have to be combated everywhere, but everyone should begin with himself. Tolerance of views is needed here as well as a high sense of responsibility for one's own bit of labor. Combating misdeeds and manifestations of anarchy is necessary to strengthen the state and its supreme authority.

Zbigniew Kornacki of Zary said that the movement is involved in problems that are new to its activists, but that we have promised not to shun difficult problems such as human problems and various conflicts among citizens and officials. In Zary, cells of the movement have received about 2,000 suggestions, complaints and comments from its residents. All of them will be replied to. The speaker stated that we must conduct a great public campaign on respect for work, upbringing through work, and on the economic understanding of our needs and capabilities of fulfilling them.

Maciej Szafranski of Zielona Gora focused on, among other things, the disturbing fact that PRON's declaration and statutory rules were not being discussed more extensively. Public discussions before government decisions are made are important to PRON's activities, but very rarely are they held. Legal guarantees for PRON's functioning also are essential.

Emilia Wajnert of Nowa Sol said that public morality depends on family morality. Mother, home and upbringing are factors that determine the attitudes of a young person.

Andrzej Czerny of Zielona Gora spoke of the initiatives and enterprise of PRON's activities in supporting the people's state on the path to overcoming the economic crisis. PRON strengthens public faith and hope in surmounting the social and political crisis and permits people with different views to act.

Jan Debek of Zielona Gora said he was in favor of a loose rather than a formal PRON structure. He stated that PRON is an organizer of public opinion but has not authorizations as an institution; among other things it is a forum for expressing ideas and proposals to be used by the authorities and administration.

Kazimierz Fabis of Babimost emphasized that PRON nurtures a sense of political and economic realism, and strengthens patriotism. PRON's Babimost voice is especially significant in defiance of the FRG's retaliatory daydreamers. The speaker asked the provincial authorities to become patrons of the Babimost Museum.

Janusz Skokowski of Kargowa expressed the view that there are too few young people among the delegates to the PRON Congress. He also brought attention to the need for more adequate preparations by the movement's various groups. He proposed that elections of delegates for PRON's congresses be held 2 years prior to the elections for the Sejm and national councils.

Mieczyslaw Solecki of Szprotowa observed that the various discussions at the PRON forum create an opportunity for understanding and reconciliation, in which everyone can express his own evaluations and thoughts on specific themes. He also acknowledged that PRON's statutory principles should also deal with the sources of the social crises of previous years. He submitted a proposal concerning the material base of education and the municipal needs in Niegoslalice, Szprotawa and Malomice.

Kazimiera Napierala of Kozuchow spoke of the often difficult lot of older people who were abandoned by their own children. She mentioned the difficult living conditions of the pensioners in Kozuchow's House of Care. The building is in need of immediate repair.

Tadeusz Zielinski of Niegoslalice was concerned that it is mostly older and middle-aged people who are active in PRON. Energy is required for social action and the older generation is simply too exhausted. Thus the participation of youth is essential. He emphasized that PRON is a movement of

struggle and action and thus provides a means of developing the talents and capabilities of young people who envision the significance and reason for action.

Tadeusz Dziewierski of Gubin emphasized that PRON's role as an opinionmaker and inspirer is not always appreciated and taken into consideration. PRON's opinions and suggestions were not used to a sufficient extent concerning the educational material bases in Gubin and the assumptions of the city's development plans. This also concerns the uncultivated lands. PRON should have some kind of power to implement public opinion that are presented to the administration.

Stanislaw Soszla of Dabia expressed the view that PRON is a mass, universal and accessible movement. Individuals and whole social organizations are joining it. On the basis of examples known to him personally, he emphasized that PRON's cooperation with the administration is effective and that social postulates are being realized.

Marian Kowalczyk of Lubsko spoke of, among other things, the need to consult with work crews concerning the various state decisions and the initiatives of the work crews themselves to increase the most needed production and limiting imports. He also opined that the division of goods should be more equitable, and the criteria for selecting people for social positions should be based on their professional activities and individual worth.

Based on a proposal submitted in the hall, it was voted to close the discussion. Delegates who still wanted to speak submitted their remarks for the minutes.

It was decided by a conference vote to terminate the discussion (almost 20 individuals still wanted to speak).

Zdzislaw Pilecki, TRK chairman, was the final speaker. The primary theses of his pronouncements are: PRON is the last chance for national understanding. We know this and the opponent knows it. This movement must succeed, stand the test of life. It is a general movement of Poles, There is no room in it for better or worse positions for people having different world views that are united by ideas and interests that take precedence over state and national interests. But we must bear witness in practice to the movement's permanence since the opposition is publicly proclaiming that it is. It should be stated loudly and unequivocally that PRON will not agree with everyone, and never with those who want to dismantle the state. They cannot be our partners. PRON does not wish to be another facade, an enigmatic movement which would be hidden behind a curtain after completing its tasks. That is why, despite various dangers, the authenticity of the movement, the avoidance of a plan of action and the formalization of initiatives are important. Our program should be presented aggressively, boldly and without hesitation, and we should state openly with whom we will not seek an accord.

The conference selected eight delegates for the First National PRON Congress (17 delegates were selected at regional meetings) who are:

--Danuta Cholewa, teacher at the ZSzG in Cybinka, the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] activist, nonparty;

--Kazimierz Fabis, farmer from Podmokla, ZSL member;

--Zdzislaw Haniewicki, Grabica PGR [State Farms], Brody gmina, nonparty;

--Henryk Kocanski, NBP [Polish National Bank] employee in Zary, vice chairman of the PRON TMR [Provisional City Council], SD member;

--Michal Polawski, officer of the Polish Army, member of the PZPR and ZSMP [Polish Union of Socialist Youth];

--Jozef Rogozinski, engineering architect, Wolsztyn craftsman, nonparty;

--Halina Samler, worker at the Peasant Self-Help GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in Slawa, nonparty;

--Maciej Szafranski, PR [Polish Radio] reporter in Zielona Gora, member of the PZPR and ZSMP.

The conference unanimously passed the program resolution and the other resolutions (the documents are published separately).

The deliberations ended with the singing of the national anthem.

#### Resolution

We, gathered at the PRON Provincial Conference, express a strong protest and indignation that was engendered by our people concerning the revisionist pronouncement of Friedrich Zimmermann, the FRG minister of internal affairs. Pronouncements of this kind threaten the postwar European order and the fundamental principles of interstate relations, are directed against the inviolability of our borders and are acts that are basically incompatible with the provisions of the Treaty on the Normalization of Relations Between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG of 7 December 1970 as well as the Final Act of the KBWE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]. The propagandistic declarations and initiatives of the representatives of various other revisionist forces in the FRG are of a similar nature.

We remind you that the postwar territorial-political order in Europe, including Poland's borders and the entire community of socialist nations, is protected by the Warsaw Pact and in particular by the power of the Soviet Union.

Once more we bear witness most emphatically that in Europe there is no problem with borders; in Europe only the problem of peace exists.

Signed: Participants in the PRON Provincial Conference in Zielona Gora

Zielona Gora, April 1983

## Zielona Gora PRON Resolution

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Resolution of the PRON Provincial Conference"]

[Text] The PRON Provincial Conference in Zielona Gora confirmed the directions of activities contained in the PRON TRW declaration of 2 October 1982. They are being realized in daily practice by PRON and OKON cells. The pregress discussions have demonstrated that daily activities in the name of jointly acknowledged values are the basis for crystallizing the program for national rebirth.

It is our position that the basic statements contained in the drafts of the PRON declaration and statutes serve our goals and social expectations vis-a-vis the movement. Discussions are continuing about the detail formulations of these documents; these discussions contribute new ideas, addenda and corrections. The conference participants see a need to publicize the declarations and spreading its ideas to the largest possible number of people. Today this is the primary obligation of the movement's activists.

We believe that those individuals selected as Zielona Gora delegates to the PRON National Congress will make today's discussions the basis of their participation in the work of the congress. We obligate the PRON TRW presidium to analyze thoroughly the proposals and postulates collected by the Proposals Commission during the course of the discussions and to present their analysis at the next PRON provincial conference.

We also request that the provincial officials consider for action the postulates presented at today's conference.

We believe that our most important task is to build peace in our ancestral home, shaping public opinion in the spirit of socialist renewal, dialogue and understanding as well as influencing the consistency in the reformation of socioeconomic life in accordance with the expectations of the majority of the region's residents.

Signed: PRON Conference in Zielona Gora

## Tadeusz Biczysko Interview on PRON

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1,4

[Interview with Tadeusz Biczysko, PRON TRW chairman in Gorzow, by Franciszek Brodzik; time and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The PRON Provincial Conference is supposed to be held today in Gorzow. What will be discussed at the conference, and what kind of representation do you expect.



[Answer] We will learn precisely what will be said only at the conference itself. Concerning the representation, it should be stated that in February we had just a little less than 12,000 individual members who joined PRON and were living in the province's 27 gminas, but now at the beginning of April PRON has established itself in all 40 gminas and unites over 15,000 people. Also of great importance is that more and more young people are joining PRON.

[Question] Those facts and numbers are not necessarily completely convincing. They can be formal enlistments of no real significance.

[Answer] Of course in some cases it may appear so. Please bear in mind, however, the phenomenon itself which, of course, is a fact not requiring discussion. There are many people who have not formally joined PRON and will not join for a long time; perhaps they will not join in general for many reasons, but by their actions and behavior in the community (and not my words!) they clearly give evidence that their goals and interests are identical to the goals and operating principles of the movement for national rebirth. There are far more such solid, industrious people that are sensitive to social needs than can be included in the numbers I gave. Their personal experiences and biases most certainly influence their official attitudes toward PRON. These people should be understood.

[Question] What are your reasons for these expressed opinions?

[Answer] There are many reasons. After all I live among people and know what is being said and even what they think. Symptomatic of this are the examples in Choszczno, Kostrzyn, Drezdenko, Slubice, Debno and many other places where exceptionally valuable initiatives were undertaken by these communities. Not only were such initiatives undertaken and realized, but they continue to be so. Some of these people who are involved in these matters have joined PRON, others have not.

[Question] It is known that this concerns social actions. In fact, they are undertakings that will not end up in disgrace if they are well thought-out and realized, even though individual associations would like to do that very much. But are social actions all that PRON has to offer to the social associations located in specific places or in many workplaces?

[Answer] Nothing of the sort. We will talk more later about social action, but meanwhile it should be remembered that our movement's primary goals and tasks are clearly contained in the PRON declaration, but even if the declaration is ignored these goals and tasks arise from elemental social needs if the renewal of social life and the functioning of the state are to be taken seriously. PRON is supposed to be, and already is becoming though the movement is just starting, a platform for partnerlike relationships among different social and professional groups as well as among circles having different world views. PRON should also be a plane for consultations on not all, of course, but the most important legal acts. Naturally, the drafts of such acts should be delivered to us, but not at the proverbial 3 days before they are passed. After all, the state's policies in basic matters are established at the central level, but PRON should have without exception a say on the methods of realizing these policies locally.

[Question] That all sounds very nice, but already we have above all the word "should."

[Answer] You are concerned, Mr Editor, about the so-called guarantees. As is known, there are no absolute guarantees in social life. Nonetheless everything depends on what kind of people, what kind of activists as well as people not belonging to any party PRON will be able to provide. They must be people that are respected. It seems to me, though, that that characteristic is not enough; there are three determinants of respect for people in the community: 1) professional qualities, 2) they must possess a broad vision and 3) have the strength to persevere. The third element arises from the first two. A good farmer; a solid, highly qualified laborer or another worker of this type, in principle is always an independent person capable of defending his opinions against pressure from the so-called top as well as pressures from demagogues that are temporarily in fashion. Such people are difficult to manipulate by anyone, and have a broader field of vision they are receptive to realistic arguments and rationales and not to temporary fashions, actions and the like.

[Question] Are the latter useless?

[Answer] Not at all. After all we have many directors in the province who are doing a good job in realizing social undertakings.

[Question] What can be said now about PRON's tasks on the provincial scale?

[Answer] An accurate investigation shows--and these matters will probably come up at the provincial conference--that it will be necessary to examine closely the development program for the region. Our region has an opportunity to develop extensively agriculture, forestry and tourism. It has a very valuable natural environment. Thus, the possible destruction of this environment must be averted.

#### Krakow, Tarnow PRON Conferences

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1,4

[Article by (J) and Jerzy Rzeszuto: "We Are an Entity for Hope; PRON's Provincial Conferences Deliberated; An Extensive Discussion; Acceptance of Program Documents; Elections of PRON's Krakow Council and Its Presidium; Election of Krakow and Tarnow Delegates for National Congress in Warsaw and Candidates for the PRON National Council"]

[Text] Krakow

The First Provincial PRON Conference in Krakow yielded many rich insights to this reporter. On the one hand, there are the program declarations, which are fundamental; on the other hand, there were the discussions that focused on minor questions and at times on the stormy plane of political and economic life that is barely perceptible. But the movement for rebirth is such that the fervent love of the fatherland must be transformed into reality. The location

of the conference, wisely chosen by the conference organizers, was significant. The actor Wojciech Krupinski appeared before the delegates at the Slowacki Theater where the premieres of "Dziady," "Wesele," and "Wyzwolenie," as well as the scene of many dramas took place (so closely linked with the theater near Holy Spirit Square in Krakow). He recited the words of Stanislaw Wyspianski about the power of the theater. We all felt the genuine greatness of Krakow which gave our culture the talent of the author of "Wesele," who could perceive beneath the surface of things that were outwardly beautiful as well as our mistakes and weaknesses.

Ryszard Zielinski--editor, writer, publicist and ChSS activist--delivered the program speech. The speaker said that it was fortunate that PRON became the first formation for hope in our country in 12 or so months. The chairman of the PRON TRW also stated:

"Indifference and disbelief, mistrust and despondency--of which there are plenty about us--arise from the very many and often long-gone hopes in Poland. In the eyes of our adversaries, it is actually our hope that marks us as little less than criminals. Ours is a realistic hope for a Poland capable of satisfying society's manifold multifaceted outlook-on-life aspirations; ours is the hope for a socialist state, a nationwide state. Each of us already has done something to draw the ideals of justice and good administration closer to life, within reach. Together we can collectively draw closer to that form of collective life and interpersonal relations on the scale of Krakow; together we can influence its realization on a national scale. We have the operating instrument; the solidifying structures of the movement and its ideological-program declaration."

The PRON Provincial Conference began with the singing of the national anthem to the accompaniment of an orchestra.

The following participated in the deliberations: Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member; Jozef Gajewicz, PZPR KK [Coordinating Committee] first secretary; Wladislaw Cabaj, ZSL KK president; Zbigniew Razowski, SD KK vice chairman; Jan Piotrowski, chairman of the Krakow branch of PAZ; Jozef Kossobudzki-Orlowski, ChSS chairman of the board; Adam Markowski, member of the board of the provincial branch of the Polish Catholic Social Association; Prof Mieczyslaw Klimaszewski, PRON TRK Presidium member; Tadeusz Salva, mayor of Krakow; Apolinary Kozub, chairman of the Krakow National Council; and Gen Marian Zdrzalka.

After relegating the chairmanship of the deliberations to Docent Zbigniew Siatkowski, PRON TRW vice-chairman, the delegates approved the motion of PRON TRW Secretary Jan Kucharski to accept the individual members of the program, resolutions and proposals, and recommending committees.

The Krakow PRON, operating in principle since the fall of last year, expanded its structures in the city's districts and in some workplaces (including the most important ones at HiL [the LENIN Steelworks], KABEL [Krakow Cable Factory] and MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise]), organized a meeting with the public prosecutor's office to initiate the possible return to society

of people in conflict with the law, and organized a meeting with representatives of the department for political-indoctrinational affairs of the MO [Citizens' Militia] KW in Krakow to initiate action against the increasing phenomenon of social pathology among children and young people. This is but a few examples of specific activities at the city level. The social duties of the TRW and the proposals being submitted by citizens require that a group be formed, in addition to the other groups, to deal with intervention matters. Many subjects were discussed during the preconference campaign, which culminated in last Saturday's Provincial Conference. At this conference postulates were submitted to develop at the PRON forum a new ordinance covering elections to national councils and the Sejm and a constitutional entry as the legal basis for PRON operations. Also discussed was a PRON right to initiate legislation and to question the Sejm which could be used after all legal avenues have been exhausted. It was also stated last Saturday that PRON should have the right to implement extensive social consultations without which no legislative proposals should be submitted to the Sejm.

The program document approved at Saturday's provincial conference, which will be taken to the National Congress, states that the PZPR, which has the leading role in a partnership alliance with the ZSL and SD, and cooperates constructively with lay Catholics and Christian associations, is the guarantor of the fatherland's development. The program resolution states that the foundation of PRON's activities is the real worth of the service of each person to society and the socialist state regardless of division into party or nonparty, believers and nonbelievers. It also strongly emphasizes the PRON TRK initiative regarding amnesty.

Many important and detailed matters were discussed. Thirty-three individuals participated in the discussions. Eleven individuals recorded their statements in the minutes, including those about protecting Krakow's natural environment, especially the lack of such protection; the need for better water management and protecting water; the need to finish constructing the National Museum building (a resolution was passed on this matter); and constructing a building for the Music-Opera Theater. Many important matters relating to protecting monuments, including those in Wieliczka, were discussed (in this regard, four individuals were authorized to formulate a detailed recommendation). The question of agriculture was not neglected in the open, very sincere discussion, including the proper treatment of farmer-producers and an appropriate pricing policy (including sharp criticism of economically unjustified increases). If previously there were 143 associations and now there are 141 unions, then one can really feel the anxiety concerning the justification for some economic reform initiatives. PRON activists from the city districts, rural areas, town and settlements spoke at the meeting. Their valuable initiatives regarding cooperation in city management are worthy of publicizing. The subject of young people was also mentioned. The delegates had less to say about the current, burning issues of the working class. It is the subject of history, and it will determine the development of a socialist society. Thus, Krakow must be more attentive to workers' needs, including housing problems.

The first PRON provincial conference in Krakow resolved that the PRON Krakow Council will consist of 150 members. Elections were held for the PRON Krakow

Council Presidium, delegates to the PRON congress in Warsaw and candidates for members of the PRON National Council (lists of those selected are printed separately).

At the first meeting of the PRON Krakow Council Presidium, Ryszard Zielinski was elected chairman; Zbigniew Siatkowski, first vice-chairman; and Jan Kucharski, vice-chairman.

#### Members of PRON Krakow Council Presidium

Wanda Bednarska, farmer, OKON chairman in Gdowa, PZPR member; Wladyslaw Cabaj, ZSL KK president, Sejm deputy; Jan Czepiel, director of the Department of Culture and Art of the UM [expansion unknown] of Krakow, PZPR member; Boleslaw Deren, ZSL KK secretary; Adam Foltyn, provincial inspector, nonparty; Jozef Gajda, Academy of Economics professor, nonparty; Jozef Gajewicz, PZPR KK first secretary; Jerzy Grzymek, Academy of Mining and Metallurgy professor, PAN member, PZPR member; Jozef Jez, officer of the Polish People's Army, military hospital doctor, OKON member, nonparty; Olgierd Jedrzejczyk, editor and publicist of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, nonparty; Adam Koczur, director of the Planning Office, social activist, nonparty; Jozef Kossobudzki-Orlowski, director of the Spolem WSS [Provincial Consumers' Cooperative], chairman of the Krakow Chapter of the ChSS; Bogdan Kowalczyk, MPK worker, OKON chairman at the MPK, PZPR member; Jan Kucharski, HiL worker, social activist, nonparty; Gustaw Lembas, HiL worker, social activist, nonparty; Boleslaw Malecki, SD activist; Franciszek Mamulski worker at the POLMOZBYT State Enterprise, PAX activist, nonparty; Jerzy Markiewicz, OKON chairman at the Pradnik Czerwony settlement, PZPR member; Adam Markowski, Polish Catholic Social Association activist, nonparty; Antoni Pacyga, ChSS activist, nonparty; Ryszard Pajak, KABEL worker, OKON chairman, PZPR member; Waldemar Pasiut, ZSMP member, nonparty; Jan Pitrowski, chairman of the Krakow Branch of PAX, nonparty; Mieczyslaw Rieger, OKON chairman at the Rydla settlement, social activist, PZPR member; Zbigniew Razowski, SD KK vice-chairman; Tadeusz Matusz, vice-chairman of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] ZD in Nowa Huta, PZPR member; Zbigniew Siatkowski, Jagiellonian University scientist, PZPR member; Stanislaw Suchonski, HiL deputy director, PZPR member, social activist; Stanislaw Szarek PRON RMG [expansion unknown] chairman in Krzeszowice, PRON TRW member, nonparty; Aleksandra Tasior, health service worker, nonparty; Aleksander Zajac, OKON district committee chairman, PZPR member; Wieslaw Zdzieblowski, Jagiellonian University scientist, nonparty; Ryszard Zielinski, publicist, writer, ChSS activist, nonparty.

#### List of Candidates for PRON National Council

Wanda Bednarska, farmer, OKON chairman in Gdowa, PRON KR Presidium member, PZPR member; Jan Kucharski, HiL worker, social activist, PRON KR secretary, nonparty; Gustaw Lembas, HiL worker, social activist, PRON KR Presidium member, nonparty; Franciszek Mamulski, POLMOBUT State Enterprise worker, PAX activist, PRON KR Presidium member, nonparty; Zbigniew Siatkowski, Jagiellonian University scientist, PRON KR vice chairman, PZPR member.

## Krakow Delegates to PRON National Congress in Warsaw

Stanislaw Adamski, retired farmer, OKON member, ZSL member, Wanda Bednarska, farmer, OKON chairman in Gdowa, PZPR member; Wladyslaw Cabaj, ZSL KK chairman, Sejm deputy, Jan Czepiel, director of the Department of Culture and Art at the UM in Krakow, PZPR member; Boleslaw Deren, PZPR KK secretary; Ignacy Dudziak, Housing Construction Combine worker, PZPR member; Aleksandra Dziadur, Chemobudowy inspector for economic analyses. ZSMP activist, nonparty; Maria Dziurdzia, teacher, PRON RMG member in Myslenice, nonparty; Antoni Fajferek, Academy of Economics professor, PRON DR for Krakow-Srodmiasto, PZPR member; Jozef Gajewicz, PZPR KK first secretary; Wieslaw Grochal, director of the Skawinski Food Concentrates Plants, PZPR member; Jerzy Grzymek, Academy of Mining and Metallurgy professor, PAN member, PZPR member; Stanislaw Hodurek, specialist for GM [Rural Commune Cooperative inspection in Pcmie, PRON RG chairman, PZPR member; Jozef Hojda, engineer, HiL PRON chairman; Tadeusz Horzela, Academy of Medicine professor, PZPR member; Leonard Jaraczewski, director of the PAX branch in Proszowice, nonparty; Jozef Jez, officer of the Polish People's Army, military hospital doctor OKON member, nonparty; Olgierd Jedrzejczyk, editor, publicist of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, nonparty; Stefan Junczys, Nowa Huta OKON activist, PZPR member; Adam Koczur, Planning Bureau director, social activist, nonparty; Jozef Kossobudzki-Orlowski, SPOLEM WSS director, chairman of the Krakow ChSS branch, nonparty; Bogdan Kowalczyk, MPK OKON chairman, PZPR member; Eugeniusz Kulwicki, Krakow Polytechnic employee, ZSL member; Gustaw Lembas, HiL worker, social activist nonparty; Jerzy Markiewicz OKON chairman at the Czerwony Pradnik, PZPR member; Adam Markowski, PZKS [expansion unknown] activist, nonparty; Franciszek Mamulski, POLMOBYT worker, PAX activist, nonparty; Jan Matusz, HiL worker, PZPR member; Wladyslaw Mucha, colonel of the Polish People's Army, PZPR member; Ryszard Nowak, teacher at the J. Kochanowski III General Liceum, PZPR member; Stanislaw Olipra, president of the Spolem WSS Krowdrza Branch, nonparty; Antoni Pacyga, HiL worker, ChSS activist, nonparty; Ryszard Pajak, KABEL worker, OKON chairman, PZPR member; Janusz Pietrzyk, KABEL craftsman, KABEL OKON member, PZPR member; Florian Przecherski, GS warehouseman in Somnik, PZPR member, Zbigniew Razowski, SD KK vice-chairman; Mieczyslaw Rieger, Rydla-Bronowicki OKON chairman, social activist, PZPR member; Marek Ruman, WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant] machinist, ZSMP ZZ [Trade Union] chairman, Krowdrza PRON RD member, PZPR member; Maria Strzebak, craftswoman at the Sieprawianka Cooperative in Sieprawie, nonparty; Stanislaw Suchenski, HiL deputy director, social activist, PZPR member; Stanislaw Szarek PRON RMG chairman in Krzeszowice, nonparty; Aleksandra Tasior, health service worker, nonparty; Wieslaw Topornicki, director of the Gmina Comprehensive School in Wieliczka, PZPR member; Natalia Woznica, HiL hotel director, PZPR member; Aleksander Zajac, OKON DK chairman, PZPR member; Zdzislaw Zgud, ZREMB [expansion unknown] director, Krakow-Podgora PRON RD chairman, PZPR member; Wieslaw Zdzieblowski, Jagiellonian University employee, nonparty.

## Tarnow

The PRON Provincial Conference deliberated in Tarnow on Saturday. During the conference the preconference discussions on the movement's draft declaration



and statutes were concluded and summed up. In addition, a joint position was developed, and delegates to the PRON national congress were selected.

The deliberations were chaired by Jan Kuczek, Tarnow PRON TRW chairman. In addition Wit Drapich, PRON TRK Presidium member participated in the deliberations along with the following Tarnow officials: Wladyslaw Piewniak, PZPR KW secretary; Jan Karkowski, PZPR KW secretary; Stanislaw Partyla, ZSL WK president; Zygmunt Pacyna, SD WK chairman; Jan Zieba, WRN [Provincial People's Council] chairman; Stanislaw Nowak, mayor of Tarnow; and Colonel Engineer Adam Szegidewicz, KOK plenipotentiary for Tarnow Province. One hundred and seventy-four delegates participated in the deliberations who were selected earlier at regional conferences. Jan Kuczek delivered the introductory paper for the discussion. He said that the pregress campaign was used successfully to publicize further the movement's ideas and to expand the process of winning over an increasingly larger part of the public. Much attention should be devoted to the problem of developing and expanding PRON. This requires a critical look at shortcomings to date and deriving conclusions from them for further action. One of the primary tasks of the movement is to increase the number of its primary cells and to propagate further PRON's ideas among the professional organizations. Jan Kuczek said: "When I analyze the road taken so far and at the same time look at the future, I am reminded of Cyprian Kamil Norwid's statement: 'In selecting the road to the future, do not forget from whence you came.' We PRON activists are convinced that our individual future and involvement in the affairs of the fatherland and concern over its fate became the basis for assuming this difficult task....That which our mothers instilled in us from the day we were born, that love of the fatherland, that patriotism must be manifested in everyday action. We must cope with the present, difficult times and its needs so that we can undertake the difficult task of righting our fatherland not with an outstretched hand but with national pride."

After Jan Kuczek's speech, Herzy Pajdo, a member of the PRON TRW presidium, assumed the chairmanship of the meeting. It was the start of a discussion that lasted 5 hours. Marian Gredys (Tarnow PRON TRM [Provisional City Council]) initiated the discussion. He said that PRON meets the public need and desire for renewal, national accord and democratic reform of the republic. Kazimierz Cich of Plesna spoke about rebuilding public trust in the government and rebuilding national unity. But Kazimierz Lotz of Tarnow, representing the Association of Ex-Professional Soldiers, stated that the number one problem is the patriotic upbringing of young people and strengthening the spirit of nationalism among Poles.

After the intermission, Maria Honkowicz conducted the meeting. Marek Nytko, ZSMP representative for Tarnow, stated that his youth organization would do everything to make its participation in the movement as extensive as possible. Another speaker, Mieczyslaw Stach of Wierzchoslawice, opined that the rebirth of the fatherland should begin with each person individually, and human problems should be settled in a human way. Franciszek Mleczko of Lisa Gora, member of the Tribune of State, said, among other things, that "PRON's program declaration is a great offering to society. I propose that it stress at least one sentence: that people's moral values should be considered when they



are considered for membership in the movement....Also, the declaration encourages PRON members to inspire other individuals to take action. I believe that we have plenty of inspired people, but not many people are eager to work, to execute the imposed tasks."

Wit Drapich, vice-chairman of the OK FJN [All-Polish National Unity Front Committee] and member of the PRON TRK, who as functions as the coordinator between the Tarnow PRON TRK and TRW, said among other things: "The entire nation should have a congenial hierarchy of values. And it is PRON that proposes the highest value: social justice....It also proposes other values such as truth and social unity. The aspiration for unity should be a natural movement....We can criticize the OK FJN for what it has not done and not for what it has done. Many OK FJN activists realized that a new movement is needed, one meeting the needs of the moment and the epoch we find ourselves in. Thus, many FJN members have joined PRON."

Jan Karkowski, Tarnow PZPR KW secretary said: "...The fact that we did not change the character of the existing structures in our province during the pre-congress election campaign period, and that PRON has an open character constitute the enormous capital of our meeting." Henryk Brozer of Tarnow's Piaskowka settlement said: "In as much as PRON operates with resilience at the provincial level, PRON's activities at the so-called lower levels--in the settlements, workplaces and gminas--leave much to be desired. We should help those people who operate in those places....The problems of young people, of their upbringing have been brought up in the discussions. Why do not the teachers talk about this?" Maria Honkowicz, the well-known social activist from Bochnia, proposed that the declaration include a task associated with the upbringing of citizens of socialist Poland.

The conference passed a resolution which stated, among other things, that: "The need of the moment is the existence and expansion of PRON as a socio-political movement whose task is to see to it that renewal as a sociopolitical and economic life of the state takes place effectively with full democracy and justice, and to mobilize the public to actively participate in the work needed to overcome the moral and economic crisis." Expanding the movement's social base and taking on such tasks that will make the movement credible to the public are acknowledged as first-order tasks in the resolution. The entire contents of the draft declaration and statutes submitted by the PRON TRK [Provisional National Council] were accepted. At the same time, however, recommendations concerning changes in some formulations in both documents were presented.

The PRON Provincial Conference in Tarnow approved the following candidates for the TRK: Jan Kuczek, Zdzislaw Karpinski, Jozef Miterka and Franciszek Mleczko. The following individuals were selected as delegates to the PRON National Congress: Stanislaw Berger, Dabrowa Tarnowska; Jan Cieciba, Iwkowa; Marian Kras, Tuchow; Stanislaw Krol, Tarnow; Maria Kucieba, Zabno; Ludwick Lukaszewski, Tarnow; Janina Midura, Wadowice Gorne; Wlodzimierz Motyka, Tarnow; Jerzy Pajda, Tarnow; Danuta Sorys, Plesna; Maria Stanuch, Cieczkowice; Wladyslaw Szubista, Brzostek; Wladyslaw Zeprzalek, Ryglisce; Ryszard Chrzanowski, Lipnica Murowana; and Andrzej Cyz, Dabrowa Tarnowska. At the earlier

conferences the following delegates were selected: Jan Rugala, Debica; Stanislaw Wegrzyn, Debica; Zbigniew Kiera, Marian Gredys, Marek Nytko and Barbara Krupinska (all of Tarnow); Blazej Palej, Brzesko; Maria Honkowicz, Bochnia; and Roman Barczewski, Bochnia.

#### Nowy Sacz PRON Conference

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by K. Brydza: "The PRON Provincial Conference in Nowy Sacz; A Movement of Patriots Begotten in an Atmosphere of Concern About Our Common Home"]

[Text] The PRON Provincial Conference in Nowy Sacz deliberated yesterday, completing and summing up the pregress discussions. The conference was directed by Jan Turek, PRON WTR [Provincial Provisional Council] chairman. The following provincial officials participated in the deliberations: Jozef Brozak, PZPR KW first secretary; Edward Nowak, ZSL WK secretary; Zbigniew Drozd, ZD WK vice-chairman; Tadeusz Zapiorkowski, WRN chairman; Antoni Raczka, Nowy Sacz mayor; and Col Dr Stefan Michalek, military commissioner; and over 200 delegates elected earlier at regional conferences. Aleksander Gietler, WTR vice-chairman delivered a short introductory paper. He stated, among other things, that the time during the pregress campaign was used well to promote further the movement as well as to enlist increasing numbers of social groups into PRON. Even when we argue in PRON, we use various rationales and arguments, but this represents its strength and not a weakness. The movement's mission is to build bridges. Already our country has overcome the greatest difficulties, and thus we must meet this test. PRON does not wish to be and will not be an organization for tactical goals or for rescuing the authorities from their present problems or an organizational facade having symbolic rights. This movement considers itself to be an advocate for reforming the economic, social and political structures. It wishes to patronize such a flow of views that it will eradicate mutual illwill and avert discord. A return to the family home as a miniature fatherland which leads to a great fatherland is also being proclaimed; this will eliminate the situation where one thing is said but another thing is done and something else is proclaimed widely. Nothing can be organized based on "make believe." Once and for all the wasting of social effort in activities no one needs must stop. The most convincing arguments will be actions, our positive accomplishments and keeping promises on schedule.

Twenty-six delegates and invited guests participated in the lively and at times ardent discussions. It would be impossible to even summarize all the speeches. Thus only digests of the more interesting opinions are presented. Piotr

Bogdanowicz of Zakopane opined that "Sincerity, honesty and the use of simple, understandable language are conditions for our reforms to succeed. The nation is plagued by several sicknesses: economic, cultural and moral. We have enough strength to combat them." In referring to this statement, Janusz Tomalski, PZPR KW secretary, stated the party did not doubt even for one minute that healthy forces exist in society, and they will finally gain the upper hand. In struggling against the decline, the strongest argument will be resolving problems wisely and properly. The areas of life requiring reform are so extensive that there is work for every citizen.

Concerning PRON as a critic-partner of the authorities, Wladyslaw Kita of Krynica said: "We need honest people who are warmhearted and have strong arms. If in the past poverty united us, then social difficulties should not now divide us."

In his speech, Lt Col Jozef Krol said there was a need to instill patriotism and to inculcate responsibility for the fate of the country.

Emil Kowalczyk, a rural teacher from Orawa, referred to the old mountaineers' traditions of diligence and resourcefulness as characteristics much needed today. "PRON is a wide open window which will clean out the stagnant atmosphere. It would be improper for the movement to mouth big slogans. The name is new, and the methods of operating should also be new."

The hall applauded Gabriela Urbannowska of Wierchomla when she stated a motto she thought should guide PRON's activities: "Poland is my love; my fellow-citizens [Rodacy] are my brothers and sisters; rebirth [Odrodzenie] is my goal; and the reformation [Naparawa] of the republic is in my hands." The first letters of this motto spell out PRON.

Many speakers mentioned the problem of upbringing the younger generation as a key problem in the program for national rebirth. Andrzej Gluc and Tomasz Weiss of Nowy Sacz, Zofia Grabowska and Ignacy Piziak-Rapacz of Raba Wyzna, and Jozef Gustak of Grodek nad Dunajec spoke about young people, their concerns and about education and upbringing through work. There was too much discussion in the past about young people, but the expected results are not to be seen. We have beautiful programs, but their implementations limp along.

Here is more about our shortcomings. Tadeusz Barbachen of Nowy Sacz referred to them when he said: "Some work, others only say they work; others make fun of those who work, but all want a lot of money." JanZielinski and Stanislaw Wronski of Gorlice, Jan Andrzejewski of Raba Wyzna, Stanislaw Szwarkowski of Kadcza, Jan Lesniak of Lukowice, Stanislaw Fiedor of Zawada, Stefan Dominik of Nowy Sacz and Jadwiga Wolkowicz of Grybowas who are experienced PRON workers in the region shared their experiences with those present.

Stefan Pekala of Nowy Sacz and Franciszek Sentysz of Mszana Dolna were in agreement that our prosperity depends on how hard we work people should be paid only for the country, for society. This was discussed by Lt Col Boguslaw Kolsut, Bogumila Pekala, Olgierd Debski and Kazimierz Wojcik.

Thus the discussion in its entirety confirmed the truth about PRON being a movement of active people and of good will, who are interested in participating in the social and political life of the province. The assembled political party and nonparty members, Catholic activists, officers of the Polish People's Army and young people, workers, farmers, creators of culture and artisans accepted the previously announced documents, enriching them with the proposals contained in the resolution passed at the conclusion of the conference, which emphasize the public's universal desire for a fountainhead of socialism free of deformations.

Since 20 delegates were selected for the congress at the regional conferences, the provincial conference had to select only 5 individuals, they are: Wladyslaw Kita of Krynica, Tadeusz Klonowski of Mszana Dolna, Boguslaw Kolsut and Bogdan Stanny of Nowy Sacz, and Gabriela Urbanowska of Wierchomla.

The following four activists were designated for the PRON TKR: Hilary Rysiewicz, Jan Turek, Gabriela Urbanowska and Michal Zdyszewski.

In addition, a proposal will be submitted at the congress to elect Tadeusz Klonowski to the central governing board.

#### Delegates to the First PRON Congress Selected at the Regional Conferences

Jan Sekula of Gorlice; Zbigniew Jezowski, Nowy Sacz; Jerzy Majoch, Nowy Sacz; Czeslaw Tomczak, Nowy Targ; Irena Zur, Grybowa; Tadeusz Szczepczyk, Limanowa; Stefan Przybylik, Zakopane; Rozalia Rysiewicz, Bobowa; Stanislaw Marecki, Jablonek; Tadeusz Szefflinski, Bialy Dunajec; Walenty Cembruch, Stary Sacz; Michalina Bukowska, Grodek nad Dunajec; Zofia Oracz, Kamionek Wielki; Ignacy Piziak-Rapacz, Raba Wyzna; Jozef Mirek, Jordanow; Jan Lesniak, Lukowica; Marian Sporer, Tymbarek; and Andrzej Piter, Lapsze Nizne.

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES VIEWED

Delegate Views on PRON Problems, Tasks

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 13 Apr 83 pp 3

[Article by Martin Geysztor and Zbigniew Niemcewicz: "After First PRON Provincial Congress in Gdansk; Intentions and Obligations"]

[Text] The First Provincial Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON took place in Gdansk on 11 April. In yesterday's issue of the newspaper we placed the report of the congress. Presently we are publishing short statements of four participants of the congress which we noted down during the break in the sessions. Our interlocutors presented activities of the PRON basic cells in which they are involved stressing the problems and tasks with which, according to them, the movement should deal in the nearest future.

Wincenty Moraczewski, first deputy chairman of the City Council of PRON in Gdansk:

At the present time we are entering a new stage of our activity. On 15 March of the current year, the Provisional City Council of PRON in Gdansk was dissolved and in its place a new council of a permanent character was constituted. It called to life a series of teams which deal with, among other things, problems of education and upbringing, propaganda activities, intervention activities, organizational matters and matters of cooperation with other social organizations, and with natural environmental protection. These commissions develop new plans for action taking into consideration comments and postulates offered during the city elections--program campaign. In the present composition of the membership of the City Council of PRON there are 38 representatives of organizations and social associations.

Besides the duties of deputy chairman of the council, I also perform the function of the chairman of the District Committee for National Rebirth OKON in Gdansk Unimor Electronic Works. Members of the plant organization of PZPR, of the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship [TPPR], and of the Club of Reserve Officers participate in our activities and recently one of the eight circles of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] which functions in our enterprise, offered to join the committee. In our work we undertake

subjects which are most essential for the enterprise--matters of implementing economic reform, of trade unions, of self-government. We inform the crew about our intentions and effects of our work so far, in weekly, 10-minute-long programs broadcasted by the plant on the radio station.

I consider the winning over of youth to the realization of the idea of national mutual reconciliation to be of utmost importance in future actions of the movement. I believe that one of the forthcoming sessions of the council should be devoted to this problem. We count on wider than so far cooperation of youth organizations. There is place for everybody in the movement.

Jaroslaw Cerowski, member of PRON "Wrzeszcz-South":

The activities of the self-government of residents of the settlement of the District Committee for National Rebirth [OKON] from Batory and Matejko Streets preceded the formation of our unit of PRON. The merging of these committees gave rise to a new elemental unit of PRON, "Wrzeszcz-South."

It is a fact that at present the participation of youth in PRON is still small and that a considerable portion of it does not see place for itself in the movement. I am only 21 years old and when I offered to join PRON I wanted to see with my own eyes that these opinions agree with reality. PRON counts on the activity and involvement of youth in implementing the idea of reconciliation and in overcoming present economic difficulties: youth counts on the movement noticing difficult problems of the young generation and that it will help to solve them.

One of the problems raised most often by young people is the usually difficult situation in the apartment construction area. I know this well since I am a member of the social commission for apartments at the Department for Dwellings of the Apartment Office in Gdansk. One does not have to explain what one's own apartment means to a young man. It is a fundamental condition for beginning of independent life, for starting a family. I believe that youth has a lot of good will but not everything depends on it. Even the most positive initiatives often meet barriers of distrust, lack of understanding or difficulties resulting from the present crisis situation. At times it is the question of the strength of endurance. It is really a problem of broader significance. It happens too that the young people wish well and the authorities also, but everything gets lost somewhere and gets washed out. I think this is not the result of conscious bad will but lack of involvement, considerable passivity on part of a large portion of the society. To overcome this passivity should be one of the basic goals of activity of all elements of PRON.

Stanislaw Czub, a member of the presidium of OKON in Center City district and a member of City Council of PRON in Gdansk:

From my point of view, PRON has most to do in its own milieu and that is in the workplace, in the residential district, or in the neighborhood. There is a field for concrete action. Of course, PRON cannot become a sort of

messenger boy who runs errands for institutions and organs which have been called for concrete tasks. It should deal, first of all, with analysis and search for all symptoms of wrong-doing be it in commerce, in transport or in construction, etc. The symptoms should be uncovered and signaled to competent authorities. Social peace and national reconciliation should, in my opinion, be built from below basing on concrete things.

The area activity of PRON basic units cannot be limited only to formulations of conclusions and exclusively to making demands. One should also talk to people and explain to them matters which often do not have popular support. PRON in such understanding should be also as if a bridge facilitating mutual reconciliation between the governing and the governed.

Janusz Lewinski, chairman of the team for matters of intervention of the City Council of PRON in Gdansk:

Our team was formed 6 April of the current year. Its task was to hear out the voiced concerns and opinions presented by society. We will take a stand concerning these motions and postulates, we do not intend to replace or to substitute any control or administrative organs. We understand our role differently. We are mainly concerned with examining the causes of sources of wrong-doing and of social tensions. Conclusions formulated on the basis of concrete facts will be directed to the proper organs. Our actions will have the goal of pointing to sources and causes of wrong-doing and to methods of eliminating them as well as preventing them in the future. Our team is to be opinion-forming and reflects the attitudes and views of various social circles. And so in a concrete way it implements the principles of reconciliation and the building of social calm.

From the perspective of a year's activity of OKON in Center City we may notice that it is such a practical activity in favor of the milieu closest to us that has a deep sense. The actions of OKON are gaining ever more friendly supporters, whereas when we were starting we were looked upon with reserve, to say the least. Today even the most beautiful words do not count at all. Deeds are important. This is why I believe that PRON should display first of all, flexibility of action. That will determine its force and place in society.

#### PRON Attempts to Reach Everybody

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Adam Schmidt: "Civic Leaders From Portowa Before First National Congress of PRON To Reach All People"]

[Text] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has become a significant political force in the country. Civic committees of national rebirth are germinal in this civic movement and being the first to exist they gained recognition for the idea of national reconciliation in cities and parishes, residential districts, socioprofessional milieus, work establishments or in



cooperatives. They were formed in the complicated and decisive days of the military state being an important step in the direction of national reconciliation.

In the Gdansk Portowa quarter, like everywhere else in the country, active impatient civic leaders, party members or not, members of political parties, veterans and combatants of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZboWiD], called to life the neighborhood District Committees for National Rebirth. They were formed in these quarters: Brzezno, Nowy Port, Zielony Trojkat, Przerobka, Stogi, Wyspa Sobieszewska.

"I did not know then what social activity in fact consists of when it has such numerous group of civic leaders," Jan Imielnicki, the chairman of OKON of Portowa quarter said. It consists of assisting people, caring that everything good and profitable in the district thrive. This required a large dose of self-denial and creative approach to social problems of the settlement on the part of our activists. From the inception of the movement of national reconciliation over a year has passed, but the role of the civic aktiv, which found a place for its activities for the sake of the settlement or home-owners, remains unchanged.

"An extremely important task for the District Committee for National Rebirth for Gdansk-Portowa quarter is the preparation of young generation for social work," J. Imielnicki states. "There are too few young people in our neighborhood OKON. They have to be convinced that life without civic-minded activities, without social usefulness is also without character. I see a place with us for those most active youth organizations--the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, the Union of Polish Scouts, and the Union of Peasant Youth."

J. Imielinski who was a scout when he was young remembers even today how he learned life in the Union of Polish Scouts. There he took first lessons of upbringing in patriotism. There too he tasted civic activity. Lessons he learned there were not wasted.

Can nowadays youth organizations bring up young people equally well? Surely yes. A peculiar to itself change of guard of generations is a normal way the life goes on.

"Setting up of the district OKON had as its goal a coordination and exchange of experiences among basic units of the movement for national rebirth," J. Imielnicki mentions. "The District OKON is not a superior supervisory body. We are the most proper place for a common discussion and for arranging common affairs for individual settlements. At our forum we choose and prepare the most effective methods of behavior.

"Nobody is wise till the end and several heads help more than one," Imielnicki remarks. "Such a concrete example of common activity is, for instance, a struggle for trade improvement or for solving of the touchy issue of 300 leaking house roofs, of large and small repairs of individual apartments or houses. As a result of common actions and agreements a meeting was convened in May in which representatives of settlement OKON and managers

of all Regional Fashion Centers [RDM] from the district and the director of the State City Management [PGM] Nowy Port, Marian Gocol, participated. A plan and the successive order of individual repairs and other works were commonly prepared. The managers of regional fashion centers together with civic leaders of settlements were puzzling over what can be done within their own means without a lot of expenditures and finances. At this meeting everybody came to that independently of economic difficulties, it is impossible to get reconciled with the fact that there is a lack of basic materials for roof repairs, such as tarboards and roof tile. Such cases cannot be ignored, even small insignificant cases undermine trust in the authorities. For a long time they pondered how to get out of the embarrassing crisis. After common deliberations the director of the city management PGM decided to send several workers to the tarboard plant which complained of lack of working hands. It was the workers of the State City Management PGM Nowy Port who produced in the brick factory in Pelpin the tarboard which was in short supply for repairs. Presently they are employed producing roof tile in Jelenia Gora Province, working of course for the needs of Nowy Port District." When he puts forth this last argument, J. Imielinski adds: "Is it necessary to produce roof tile board for Gdansk so many hundreds of kilometers away? We have here so many ceramic roofs, this material is constantly needed, why can't it be made here?"

Many matters of this district demand increased activity, initiative and a common effort of people who live here. With this proviso and stressing J. Imielinski's reservations, OKON here too does not intend to replace or substitute any institutions. In a month will be the first National Congress of PRON. It will be a significant event in the social life of the country. It is an important time for social activists--members of PRON and OKON. A reason to think about combining concrete matters of a citizen with matters of the whole community, interests of the region or locality with general interests of the country, past history with today, and the genealogy of national ideas with their embodiment. In the shape and content of People's Poland.

"For me, just like for many people from OKON, the national congress of PRON will bring a framework for the entire movement to place into the socio-political structure of the country," J. Imielinski remarks. "The congress should also point to certain directions for action so that the profit from our social work would be as great as possible; so that it would aid the successes of each citizen, to create conflict free-atmosphere of life also in settlements, to reach all people. All this because we have only one society!"

#### PRON As 'Social Yeast'

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Our Commentary

The civic movement for national rebirth has become a fact. It can be attested to be accomplishments of numerous OKON and PRON basis units, which

were summed up by the preCongress provincial conferences also in Radom and Kielce. What is today the patriotic movement which is being built from below? The discussion on the lowest level of its structure is accompanied by social activity on the scale of possibilities and temperament of its founders. They frequently undertake resolution of even the most vexing problems of inhabitants of a village, town or town district. It is a sort of challenge to helplessness, a protest to bureaucratic indifference. There are also attempts of undertaking of organic work for closest environment so needed today. On the level of city and province PRON becomes, not without interference, a bridge between authority and society. It is necessary to create a political and social platform which could be considered one's own, not only by those who are for socialism but also by masses of people standing on sidelines who doubt and do not fully accept the direction in which the authorities turn. It must be a program also acceptable to persons from "internal immigration" who are, after all, aware of the fact that they have only one native country. Today the social and professional activity is a patriotic duty. It is the question of going beyond emotion, of understanding patriotism as a creative posture, effective in resolving our difficult problems. It is this effectiveness that we lacked. Prof Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR spoke about this at a recent meeting of the Provisional National Committee of PRON: "Very frequently patriotism in Poland began and ended with words, with proclamation of love for our native country. We would like to go further and to begin exactly there where many ended: in the sphere of actions for the native country, its interests and its welfare."

There is a lot of work. It is widely known that the most important thing is to lead the country out of the crisis, to be frugal, to declare war on wastefulness, on inflation and on all pathological phenomena as well as to restore proper sense to ideals of socialism.

Just like any newly born social movement, PRON meets with varying receptions. Fears that it might become a dead movement, as the Front of National Unity did, accompany it. There indeed are attempts to approve old diagrams for new forms, to return to routine practices and style of thinking. There also came out a desire to bureaucratize the PRON structures, to steer and use the key during the elections. In the meantime PRON has a chance to become a social voice and conscience. Such are the expectations. PRON is to be the platform of confrontation between different ideologies, views, convictions, in which, through discussion, reconciliation and national agreement are reached. Only then it will be possible to overcome moral crisis, regress of postures and authorities. As one of the participants in the Kielce said: "PRON is to be social yeast which will ferment by means of curing initiatives, and by means of civic actions."

## Rzeszow Views on PRON

Rzesow NOWINY in Polish 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jak, a-er, wab: "What To Take to PRON Congress"]

[Text] The provincial conferences of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Rzeszow and Ciechanow closed on national scale a successive, important stage of widely-held discussion, on the future of the movement and the effectiveness of its activities. In a multitheme discussion, which in our region encompassed not only spheres of PRON and OKON activists, the most attention was devoted to the very nature of the movement's activity for the cause of national reconciliation, to its place in the present sociopolitical structure of the country and to the need of creating legal guarantees of effectiveness of its actions.

That is why in the successive series of statements by delegates to the national PRON Congress elected in our region during city and provincial conferences of PRON, these elements dominate. The nearer the PRON Congress, the greater is, as we see, the concern of its activists to insure that this first forum of the movement would perform its unusually significant social mission. This is why the causes and interests of particular milieus and groups gave up their place in discussion in favor of problems common to all signatories of PRON. This is a good sign witnessing to the fact that in important moments we continue to be able to find proper optics for solutions to essential problems.

We Need to Go 'After the Mind'

Edward Chrzan, chairman of the Section of the Provincial Christian Social Association, deputy chairman of the Provincial Provisional Council of PRON in Rzeszow:

I will begin my afterthoughts on the topic of the present activity of PRON and goals which face the movement today for national reconciliation of minds in an offbeat fashion by recalling one of the meetings which our primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, had with journalists. And so at that meeting they asked the primate what he understands by reconciliation of minds. The primate answered that the etymology of words speaks for itself and from it we can deduce that the reconciliation of minds has something to do with the work "mind." And so it is not emotions, nor hands, but heads which should work here. Exactly in PRON which became a platform of common meetings and search for what joins us. We may shape the economic and social life by basing on what joins us. At the same time one should not blur by force and artificially that what separates us in fact.

The concern for family matters is a problem of civic responsibility. The spirit of dialogue, political culture clears the way for itself ever more effectively and the fact that these are the topics which PRON undertakes has tremendous significance. We must constantly learn political culture, discussion, ability to differ and respect for differing views. Tolerance and

mutual understanding should be elementary canons of our lives. In general the preparation for social life, rebirth and cultivation of the notion of civic virtues, responsibility for the state, relating national consciousness to state consciousness, or, finally, our attitude to work and formation of the cult of hard worker are today matters of highest rank. We continue speaking about all these matters not only in PRON and we must in many of them begin to act immediately in a concrete manner.

#### Movement Brings Hope

Zofia Rekas, a pharmacist, deputy chairwoman of the Parish Council of PRON in Korczyn (Krosno Province):

According to me, the essential goal of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth should be to strive to modernize structures and methods of functioning of the authority and the economy in a manner approved by the society's majority. PRON should make it possible for the largest number of citizens, mainly those who do not belong to the party or to political parties to exert influence on the direction of rebirth in the country.

This is spoken about in detail in drafts of program documents: the declaration and statutory principles. As one of the participants of the Provincial Congress of PRON in Krosno, I accept in general their content, I believe, however, that there exists a need for certain modifications. For instance, in the declaration, which in my opinion should be shortened and made more precise, there should be found a clear definition of the spheres of the movement's activity, its place in the political system and more exact and precise statement of tasks of the signatories. In turn, in the statutes a precise description of relationship between the movement and the organs of social self-government and social organizations is lacking.

Our Parish Council of PRON is composed of 40 persons at present. This is not many, but through our activity we try to gain new sympathizers, particularly among youth. We participate in resolving the important problems of our milieu. One of them is securing for inhabitants of good medical care. We managed to achieve that 2 medical doctors started working in Korczyn. We are trying to speed up the construction that was begun on a new health center and a new school. We also assisted in finding a lodging for music club for school youth which acts in the Rainbow [Tecza] club.

#### To Strengthen Credibility And Trust

Romuald Boryslawski, secretary of the City Committee of Democratic Party, member of City Council PRON in Przemysl:

I am expecting of the congress that it work out such directions of action which will strengthen the credibility and trust in PRON in the society. Taking care of everybody's everyday complaints, dealing with problems of the city or work establishments should not prevent our movement from noticing first rate matters for our state.

It is necessary to strengthen authentically the functions of representational organs of all levels. A certain anxiety is raised by the lengthy discussion on the draft of the new law about national councils. The creation which requires proper preparations and first of all a creation of a law about social consultations.

One of the directions of PRON activity is the participation in preparation and conduct of elections to representative bodies. Tasks which the movement will have in this domain are very serious. It is indispensable to form an electoral platform which would be acceptable to the majority of citizens and nomination of candidates for deputies and councillors who command the trust of the electors. This issue is tied with the problem of the postulated strengthening and enriching of a coalition system of exercising of power, and that is particularly essential in this aspect of the recognized principle of the regime about the leading role of the party PZPR, the ZSL and SD. I believe that the issues presented by me will be discussed at the congress in a constructive and lively manner. In the course of the discussion even the most controversial and touchy topics should not be silently ignored. Only frank direct dialogue will allow to work out a proper program for PRON activity.

Records by Themselves Do Not Solve Anything

Jozef Pietrzak, secretary of the Provincial Council of PRON in Tarnobrzeg:

When reading carefully the basic drafts of documents of PRON many doubts come to mind, among other things, on account of their generalities in some points. I think that a lot of work awaits the congress delegates. The role and place of the movement in the political system of the country must be defined clearly and concretely. After an insightful discussion on this topic I judge that this problem should be presented in a clear form as a constitutional record.

Next issue is the question of defining the competency of the movement--I have here in mind the announced and undertaken reforms in the country the architect of which should be PRON. If PRON is to be the partner in power and at the same time if it is to express public opinion, it must be equipped with proper authority to act. The question is about legislative initiative. Statements which speak about strengthening of the institutions which guarantee the inviolability of citizen's rights or securing of a fuller participation in public life for nonparty members require a closer and more detailed descriptions. Records which contain generalities will not solve the problem. Will, for instance, enlarging of some administrative body on some level with a nonparty member mean that nonparty members are assured a fuller participation? I believe that during the PRON congress we should think more closely about the directions of changes in mechanisms of management, and of exercising of authority in general. The drafts of basic documents of PRON presented for discussion caused a lot of reflection and thus they performed an important function.

## Krakow PRON Congress Speech

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Poland of Tomorrow will Contain in Itself all Loves of Everybody; Speech by Ryszard Zielinski at First Congress of Provincial PRON in Krakow, 9 April 1983 in J. Slowacki Theatre"]

[Text] The growth of our movement, dynamic to some extent, is expressed by the rising number of activists who identify themselves with PRON which acquires desks and structures, accounting offices of sharp and threatening truth that we are practicing the movement of the last chance.

The last chance for building a social consensus in the framework of Poland as it exists. And Poland cannot be different in the present world and so this Poland which exists must become such that none of its sons will have any reason to curse it. Poland which is tired but not overpowered, sick but with strong pulse, this Poland violently needs to be successful. We may be its political success but nowhere it is said that we will become that success.

Many of us found ourselves in this hall because we saw in our nearest vicinity that something can be repaired, that it is enough to contribute a little of our own work, a little of our abilities to win over our neighbors and life around us will be a little more sensible. In one word, each of us was brought into this beautiful hall of faith in the sense of our activity. Being an agglomeration of people united by will to act together we form a social force! It is indifferent what we are called but it is important that we are first hope in many months for this country. Passivity and disbelief, distrust and discouragement of which there is plenty around originate from the numerous and frequent hopes which died in Poland. It is exactly our hope which marks us with an almost criminal imprint in the eyes of our opponents. Our realistic hope for Poland able to satisfy aspirations of a differentiated society of many world views, our hope for socialistic state which is an all-national state. Because we have just such hopes. And in fact our main task is to know how to infect the widest circles of Poles with our hope.

Somewhere in the middle of the 1950's an ideal was born in Poland--a prediction of a socialist Poland not detached from any of its traditions, governed by marxists but democratic, a Poland full of bridges over abysses which divide sons of this country. This Polish ideal on the scale of contemporary times dawned on us and fled from us several times at various turns of the history of People's Poland. Our task is to catch up with this fleeing away ideal of socialist republic of all Poles, to catch up with it and to contribute to its implanting.

Each of us already has done something to bring closer this ideal of justice and thriftiness to this sphere of life which remains within the reach of his hand. Together we can collectively bring closer on Krakow's



scale this ideal shape of collective life and interhuman relations, together we can influence its realization on the scale of the country. We have the instrument of the action: the gathering structures of the movement as well as its declaration idea and program. Krakow is only one of 49 provinces. Our voice can be only one of 49 voices at our forthcoming Warsaw Congress. But it does not have to be. We consider ourselves the old capital, we like at times to remind Warsaw of its youth as a capital. But putting jokes aside, we indeed have at our disposal wealth of scientific backing, cultural backing, traditions of Polish Independent Piedmont, traditions of Little Poland's Workers' Movement.

Will our voice come through from amongst the remaining voices for equal rights? That will depend on the degree of our penetration into the city and country, on the rank of the set of problems we are dealing with, on our collective wisdom.

We remember when occupying ourselves in this hall with our organizational problems, when electing, voting, passing laws, that our actions will be of importance for anybody other than ourselves only when we convince people from outside of the walls of this theatre, that we are in reality serving the building of mechanisms of democracy in socialist Poland and that in this itself we serve the cause of healing of Polish wounds. With the election of Krakow delegates to the First PRON Congress we will end today this stage of our work which we called "precongress campaign." We had ambitions to make out of this campaign of this sum of meetings, of get-togethers, and of discussions into which so much strength and effort was put by a lot of PRON activists, who deserve special thanks, we had ambitions to make out of this campaign a matter of interest to the entire society. And to some extent this intention we managed to actualize. We have not burnt out in the fire of arguments over the structure of PRON--hundreds of discussants gave proof of feelings of high responsibility for the most widely understood totality of Polish common good. We had in this campaign a not too bad a weapon in the form of a draft of PRON declaration. Tolerance is a notion deeply rooted in the Polish historical awareness. Each of us--it is indifferent whether he is weaker or stronger in the knowledge of history--knows that Poland in its long history was a country of tolerance, country without stakes, or else with a comparatively small number of stakes by comparison with others. Citizens of the old, prepartitioned Polish republic did not know the word pluralism but in practice knew how to use it. They were immensely differentiated and they knew how to carry their own political, religious and ethnic variety. It is only in 19th century, the century of our interdiction under the government of the invaders that we were untaught this applied pluralism. Next to the invader patrolled borders it was then that many other matters divided us. Different trends of Polish political thought instead of competing with each other began to be hostile to each other. The dying out of our abilities to coexist, the readiness to mutual drowning in a spoon of water, these features which were conceived under the invaders entered with us into 20th century and they intensified every conflict, every Polish internal argument. They also intensified above expression the last argument which each of us witnessed. It is in this light of such historical birth certificate that

any trace of the great Polish tradition of tolerant thought, every particle of Polish abilities, which were born in the Renaissance, to raise the thoughts above the hurdles, Polish abilities to aim with thought into common good, appear to be particularly precious.

And it is traces of such great Polish traditions that can be noticed in the draft of the declaration of PRON and it is these traces that one should follow and disseminate, to make the chief motif of PRON ideology. In this direction we must go if we wish to exert worthy, real influence at the congress in the capital and first of all if we want to see ourselves inside that nation from which we are.

We reconciled within PRON though we all differ greatly. All in all, we are a large crowd by the name of PRON. But a crowd which continues to float on the ocean of human bitterness and disbelief. We reconciled among ourselves the goals of our actions. Occupied with each other we should not forget often to look back, to check if anyone follows us behind.

Our conclusions which refer to retouching or filling in of the declaration draft must take into consideration the results of such careful looking around and of glances at the society outside of the walls of the place of debates.

I believe that we all will agree that a certain general conclusion may be drawn from the pregress campaign, a conclusion that we the Krakow and Krakow District residents, must give expression to our will of making out of PRON a serious, real, general social consultant of the institutions which govern this country. Not a formal but real consultant, which does not have ambitions to govern but which is winning over an inviolable right to loud, popularly published postulates from desiderata of elemental centers addressed to the chief of the parish, all the way to the right of legislative initiative of the National PRON Council in Sejm.

While keeping our internal differentiation and even enriching it still, we conduct nothing else but a big game for Poland's good future. We intend to conduct this game within the limits of today's possibilities. We want to build a better tomorrow out of today's realities, out of the Poles' tiredness, but also out of their unfailing strength. We want to repair not to destroy but we also want to remain faithful, everybody to himself.

We have no foreign body as our opponent, no foreign growth on our nation. Nobody who thinks warmly about Poland even though he thinks differently than we do is our enemy. He can be only our competitor.

Yes, we do have an enemy but this enemy cannot be singled out and placed on any shooting range. The enemy is the everpresent bacillus of doubt and disbelief in our today's social organization and born from many disappointments. This is our main political opponent. An opponent which will not be defeated by any campaign but only by a long and patient curing by means of accomplished facts. Facts which create mechanisms which bring a citizen closer to authorities, those facts which build democracy within the framework of a socialist state. It is a cure which requires patience in

relation to those who are hesitating and are set in their bitterness. We ourselves should also be patient, we should not prematurely take ourselves for what we are not as yet--for being a representation of the whole society. Let us also request patience of our signatories so that they would not hurry to see us in the role of representation of the entire society.

We must also be resistant to various small dangers. Undoubtedly the bacillus of routine will await us and it is particularly dangerous there where the social activist encounters a payroll employee, where the too-great inclination to risk will encounter habits to govern without any risk at all. In my capacity as the chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council which is ending its life today, I ought to thank all who with their thoughts and actions caused that our movement began and that it developed, who are the cause of us all meeting here today with a real hope of serving Poland of the future able to 'contain in itself all loves.'"

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## PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## PRON Activities for Every Citizen

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 22-24 Apr 83 p. 3

[Article by Prof Dr Mariusz Gulczynski: "Without Concert of Wishes: Something Nice for Everyone" under the rubric "Before the PRON Congress"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The recurrence of crisis situations in Poland inevitably recalls Marx's statement that history usually repeats itself but not in the same form, because the first time it is a tragedy, the second a farce. Now the special features of Polish crises--with their characteristic drastic collapse of unity of goals and action of the complementary elements of our social organism--have already passed through their tragic stage in the Gomulka era and through their farcical stage in the Gierek era./

What might threaten us at this moment were we not to learn the lesson of these experiences, and were we not to consider fully the new conditions under which we have to unite the nation, is not a repetition of the crisis in its tragic or even farcical edition. We would be threatened by a tragifarce--the worst, because the most stupid variant of a national schism. A tragifarce which could not be absolved by naive idealism and utopian transports. For the game would be played with marked cards--without delusions and illusions, as a cynical political game. And this threat, manifesting itself as a tendency of politicking forces, on each side of diverse barricades, has to be overcome. /A prerequisite for overcoming it is the creation of a national accord in a serious and authentic manner, in a manner demonstrating that this is not a tactical repetition of the past./ Not as a decoration but as a credible and real institutional form of the unity of a majority of the society.

There is no good alternative to a national accord, in view of the fact that we have to act under external and internal conditions that are totally different from those obtaining in the aforementioned earlier periods.

The new aspect of external conditions--which I believe will last for at least several years--is /the halting of detente and the rise of tension in the relations between the West and the East./ This does not mean a return to the cold war and total economic blockade. Certain elements of the detente can be preserved and salvaged, because not only we--the socialist system--but also part of the Western, and especially West European bourgeoisie is interested in it. But it is now hard to expect further growth of detente and hence also such of its fruits as favorable political conditions and an economic boom, broader possibilities for economic cooperation, ease of obtaining licenses and loans,

etc. It has to be considered that we are facing a difficult period of growing tension in international relations, which must affect our position and domestic conditions. /Hence, among other things, the domestic situation will be affected by inevitable long-range restrictions in availability of goods as well as by the abandonment of unrealistic aims. This imposes the hard task of reappraising the aspirations stimulated in an era which I term the era of "facile optimism."/

It would be naive to expect that such a reorientation of aspirations would take place in the absence of a struggle between large social groups for a redistribution of national income, in the absence of sharp resistance from those who had, during the era of "facile optimism," attained a privileged standard of living. But this cannot be reconciled with the necessity of meeting the elementary needs and aspirations for a better life on the part of an overwhelming majority of the society. I mean the majority which did not benefit from Gierek's horn of plenty but whose appetites have been aroused. / This manifests itself in the persistence of the so-called false awareness of some people whose aspirations for living in Western style were aroused but not satisfied during the past decade. And it will no longer be possible to satisfy them. This is and will remain a source of social frustrations.

The social tensions ensuing from the above external and internal conditions confront us with the following choices:

--either this friction, this acute struggle among opposing goals and interests will follow the principle of "dog eat dog," in the absence of any rules or political culture;

--or these groups with opposing interests should not devour each other in a fruitless strife but create organized conditions for overcoming these objectively conflicting interests and strivings of major social groups.

Among such organized forms /the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]/ is indispensable as an essential forum for reconciling conflicting strivings: it is the broadest and most voluntarist alternative to the fruitless struggle and internecine strife of groups with conflicting interests. Hence we all are objectively interested in making the PRON a forum for a serious national accord rather than for declarations of moral-political unity or supra-class solidarity--in making it a forum for the reconciliation of the views, interests and strivings of all the component parts of our complementary national organism and thus reaching progressive compromises. /We mean compromises that reconcile the priority needs of the majority with the non-colliding strivings of the minority./

This requires a radical turnabout in the ways of arriving at programs for social progress. For until now society has been an observer rather than a participant in the drafting of such programs.

I say that such a way of drafting programs had been possible in times when the party implemented "agreements" among principal social forces that had been reached much earlier. There was no need in those times to conduct a discussion as to whether land should be for peasants, the factories for workers, or education for the people. Just as there had been no need to discuss whether economic backwardness should be overcome through industrialization. This had been obvious, and hence this accounted for authentic acceptance by the masses as reflected in their applause and action.

The continuation of all forms of uniting the nation through declarations of programs drafted in the absence of public participation ensued largely from failure to consider the fact that we are not in agreement about the new tasks, new scope and new methods of achieving a new development horizon. Neither the party membership nor the classes nor, the more so, the nation as a whole was consulted about the question of how to utilize the industrial progress so as to advance not by individuals or by an elite but by entire classes and the nation. /For we as society were not consulted about this most important issue./

The programs were formulated on the basis of a "concert of wishes," with something nice for everyone, in the illusion that everyone would be content. In practice, however, only those fragments of programs succeeded for which funds were available. The funds were available for the groups having more clout. It was they that "threw in" what counted most to them into the investment program and the program for purchases from abroad. As a result, the demand for better apartments and other housing (dachas, country houses) was more than met while at the same time there was not enough housing for newlyweds. /The production of passenger cars exceeded the plan, but investments in mass transit (consider, for example, the fate of the Warsaw Subway) were somehow "overlooked" in the plan, etc., etc./

We know this, so this reasoning need not be continued. /The important conclusion is that the PRON should be the forum for reconciling conflicting strivings, which requires the consideration of conflicting arguments so as to reach a compromise. Therein should consist the novelty of the new program for reconciling wishes and action./

The PRON should be /the broadest forum/ which those articulating the final text of programs, chiefly those in the party and the allied political parties, must regard as an arena for the expression of the broadest public opinion. The expression of these conflicting strivings should be permitted, and it should be shown that they often are mutually contradictory so that alternatives could be pointed out. And it should be realized that a program is a choice of priorities and a deliberate rejection of wishes that could not be accommodated.

#### Delegates Forum for PRON Congress

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 22 Apr 83 p 1

[Recorded by J. Gozdz: "Forum of Delegates to the PRON Congress: K. Drzewinska: Let Us Distribute the Burden of the Crisis Equally Among All"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /In connection with the coming First National Congress of the PRON which--as known--will be convened on 7-9 May of this year, we present sketches and opinions of delegates from our region. Today we give the floor to Mrs. Krystyna Drzewinska, chairperson of the local Citizens' Committee for National Salvation [OKON], non-party member, retired administrative employee./

K. Drzewinska said: /The realization of the idea of the national accord hinges chiefly on the attitudes of society and of its numerically largest stratum--the working class. Among problems of concern to society there is the acute issue of

democracy, dignity of labor and human dignity. Democracy concerns not only participation in governing but also the right to voice one's own views./

/At the threshold of the national accord there also pile up such issues as the credit of social trust, the credibility of actions by the authorities and the unsettled accounting for injustices which cannot be forgotten./

/The PRON's draft declaration comprises all the values and ideals dreamed of by society for many years and proclaimed in various forms but unfortunately not attained./

/It is very good that the PRON does not make participation in its ranks contingent on tight criteria of membership and instead its position is that any person, whatever his milieu and whatever the nature of his participation in anything, always has certain rights and must have certain duties./

What matters now is to cross as soon as possible the threshold between deeds and words, in order to preserve objectivity in the enforcement of laws, reduce the bureaucracy and void "arrangements" by distributing equitably. There is still a large number of phenomena which do not contribute to the national accord and undermine the faith in the effectiveness of action of the authorities or even in one's own undertakings. Such phenomena include, e.g. the existing canons of cadre policy. Managerial posts should be occupied by genuinely talented, verified, morally healthy individuals who know how to respect the dignity of others. Persons who in the past could not resist the temptations encountered in holding state posts and functions, but who owing to their influential connections, landed on dry land, should not irritate society by their presence: they should know how to resign their posts.

If we are to shoulder the burdens and difficulties of the present situation, let us allot them equally among all. If we need housing, let us bestow the little housing that is available on the most needy. We are building the bridge of the national accord on strong, permanent foundations, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual support and respect.

#### Pre-Congress PRON Meetings

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (klos): "Meetings Prior to the PRON Congress: In Bialystok"]

[Text] Yesterday the conference room of the Province Office in Bialystok was the site of a plenum of the Province PRON Council chaired by its chairman, Prof Piotr Boron. The first item on the agenda was forming the Council's membership. A 25-member presidium of the Province Council was formed, and it included representatives of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], the PAX Christian Social Association, and six non-party members. Jan Zieniuk, Wieslaw Dabrowski, Helena Kozłowska and Waldemar Pawlowski became the deputy chairmen.

The members of the Province Council declared their participation in the following problem-solving commissions: program, youth problems, social pathology, public consultation, social interventions, socio-economic initiatives, and the commission for culture, science and education.



Next on the agenda, PRON activists listened to a report by a representative of the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] on improvements in rural hygiene. Unfortunately, the matter was treated too superficially and left the members of the PRON Province Council dissatisfied.

At the close Prof Piotr Boron shared his impressions from participation in the recent session of the Provisional National Council of the PRON and encouraged the 31-member delegation of Bialystok Province to take an active part in the May Congress of the PRON.

#### In Lomza Province

In Lomza Province the series of meetings between delegates to the PRON Congress and representatives of plant workforces and social communities is continuing.

Yesterday (22 [Apr 1983]) Edward Wrobel, chairman of the Provisional Province Council [TRW] of the PRON as well as Grzegorz Flejter, secretary of the TRW and Krystyna Kolakowska, member of the TRW presidium, took part in a meeting with representatives of the public organizations active in the province.

Those present were familiarized with the text of pre-Congress documents and the proposals made during the reports-programs campaign. Some decisions of the First Province Congress of the PRON also were discussed.

The discussion also touched on, among other things, the further development of PRON elements in Lomza Province and the need for broader participation of youth in PRON activities. Many discussants pointed to the need to take measures preventing the bureaucratization of the Movement which, if fully implemented, will help enhance the PRON's authority and attract to it new activists. The representatives of organizations also commented on the participation of the various communities they represent in the work of the PRON.

#### PRON - Building Mutual Understanding

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Maciej Geysztor: "Building a National Accord" under the rubric "Before the PRON Congress"]

[Text] We are a nation which at its most difficult moments in history succeeded in uniting for a common goal, for the fatherland. But it has also happened that such moments came too late so that the already advanced destruction of statehood made impossible the process of national renewal. This precisely had happened in the period when the Constitution of 3 May 1791 was conceived. Europe's first constitution was at least 20 years too late. The ideas it carried had, however, remained alive even when Poland had vanished from the world map. This should be borne in mind.

It is not our fault that we interpret the ideals of patriotism somewhat differently from other nations. Such has been Poland's destiny that we had to fight for our national future with a saber or a rifle in hand more often than forge it through toil in our own workshop. As a result, courage in battle was prized more

highly than ordinary honest toil. Is not he also a patriot who selflessly devotes his strength and abilities to the fatherland, who through daily toil multiplies its wealth and strengthens the position and importance of his country? There is an old saying that a friend in need is a friend indeed. This also applies to a citizen.

We were and are a diversified society. The reconstruction of social mentality is a complex and prolonged process. We are divided by differences in political views and outlook whose roots reach far back into the national past. But there is something stronger than all these divisions--the concern for the future of our country, even when we differ in our specific views as to its final shape. At present this is also an elementary question of the ordinary instinct of survival in everyone.

It would be a truism at present to justify the validity of the idea of a national accord. The fact that this idea was formulated in the declaration of the PRL Parliament to the nation on precisely 3 May 1982 is highly symbolic. This appeal included the living words of Kollataj [Polish Enlightenmentist] who spoke of the inseparable bond between "man and his security," "the citizen and his happiness," "the fatherland and its integrity." The declaration of 20 July 1982 on the agreement of the party, the allied political parties, and the Christian organizations was a response to this appeal.

The PRON has become the platform for an accord among all progressive forces of the nation that undertake joint effort not only to surmount the economic crisis but also with the object of further democratizing social life and implementing the program for socialist renewal. This Movement, which has grown to be a public movement, opens to citizens broad prospects for participation in public life, thus making them reflectors and co-shapers of opinions. Soon now, from 7 to 9 May, the First Congress of the PRON will deliberate in Warsaw, consider the draft declaration and statute and elect the chief officers of the PRON.

The scope of action of the PRON is very extensive, ranging from the inspiration and monitoring of the apparatus of state and administration, through the strengthening of the participation of citizens in the exercise of state power through their representative and self-government bodies, to surmounting the crisis and alleviating its consequences, acting in behalf of what we customarily term moral renewal of the nation and condemning manifestations of social pathology and the brutalization of daily life. Lastly, this scope includes the struggle for peace, for the right to a secure and tranquil life of all nations, so essential in the current tense international situation.

The PRON does not pretend to a monopoly on patriotism. What counts, after all, in the final analysis, is not membership but a genuinely civic attitude and honest work for common good. Part of the society still remains reserved toward the Movement and accuses it of being a facade. The political opposition deliberately bestows on it the epithet of being an "annex" of the apparatus of state, intended to sanction the political decisions of the authorities. But the PRON will be what we make it ourselves. No one, though, can question the validity of the idea of a national accord, whose realization will decide the future of the country and of all its inhabitants.

## Delegates Forum to PRON Congress

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Unsigned article: "Forum of Delegates to the PRON Congress: J. Wojcik—Youth Must Be Treated Seriously"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Below are comments by another delegate from our region to the First National Congress of the PRON in Warsaw-- Janusz Wojcik, a representative of the rising generation and a Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] activist./

/Do I believe in the national accord? Of course, I do. Otherwise I would not be participating in the work and activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The premises of this Movement is that it is to become a forum for an exchange of views on many general issues such as broadening the social base of governing and assuring for citizens a genuine influence on social and economic policies as well as rights to monitor, the right to initiate legislation and resolutions and more specific rights concerning problems of cities, city-quarters, housing projects, gminas [parishes] or smaller communities./

/During the pre-Congress discussion two orientations have been in conflict. Some PRON activists would prefer to gain for the Movement prerogatives of a general, political nature while others--apprehensive lest the Movement become ephemeral--aim to restrict it to civic action alone, i.e. to the solution of petty but often vexatious problems of everyday life. I personally believe that proper proportions should be kept between these two orientations./

/A major task of the Movement is to gain a still broader social base in the very near future and, what goes with it, the trust of society. Of a certainty, this will be a major topic during the Congress discussions./

/As one of the youngest delegates to the First National Congress of the PRON, I am perturbed by the negligible participation of youth in the Movement's work. For example, in Lublin young people account for only 5 percent of the PRON's membership. Here I am prone to bitter reflections. It is difficult to avoid posing the following questions: What have the basic elements and structures of the PRON done to attract youth? What are the objective and subjective causes of the waiting attitude adopted by many circles of youth? After all, any socio-political movement--this being what the PRON calls itself--must care for a broad public base and natural continuation. Unfortunately, some of the Movement's activists approached youth and its problems, vacillations, etc. as if it were the object rather than full-fledged subject of civic action. Youth is particularly sensitive in this respect. In many discussions of the PRON--the idea of a national accord is at present a major aspect of political training within the ZSMP--young people, including those not belonging to its structures, showed

themselves to be watching very closely the activities of various elements and structures of the PRON and comparing the words of its activists, often directed at them, with the actual deeds of these activists. It depends on the attitudes of the Movement's aktiv whether we shall succeed in spreading broad trust of youth in the PRON./

/Too often still the PRON forum is used to speak solely and exclusively about the upbringing of youth, thus reducing it to school youth and treating it as an integral group without allowing for ideological and social differences among young people. Unjust opinions are voiced to the effect that youth is only a taker and not a giver. Many discussants consider it necessary to take practical steps to link broader circles of youth to the PRON. And yet, when nominating candidates in elections at various levels, e.g. to the First National Congress of the PRON or to the membership of the future National Council of the PRON, little thought is given to representatives of the rising generation, which after all also shoulders the burden of rescuing the country from its economic crisis. Such actions do not help to make the PRON's ideas popular among youth./

/And yet the premises of the PRON are that it is to represent the entire society. In my opinion, the PRON should be a school for practical political training as well as for political culture--which in recent years has declined so much in our society./

/The experience and practice of recent days indicate that wherever PRON activists are youth-oriented (and not just in words), there they gained its recognition and favor. Such positive examples in Lublin may be the city-quarters Czechow, Kalinowszczyzna, Wieniawa and the 1 May Housing Project./

/Thus, contrary to fears, youth is not lost to the idea of a national accord; it is only that one has to know how to reach it./

I believe that these problems will be considered seriously enough by the First National Congress of the PRON to eliminate the generation gap (which does not always occur through the fault of youth) and local particularisms./

1386

CSO: 2600/813

# CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian Jan-Feb 83  
pp 43-47

[Article by Maria Groza: "National Independence and Sovereignty in Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu's View"]

[Text] In the contemporary world--characterized by the massive emergence of national interests within the framework of conflictual interdependence, by the growth of the danger of war and by the expansion of the policy of division and extension of the zones of influence--the concepts of national independence and sovereignty have become the object of intense discussions of ideas, generating many takings of divergent positions on an ideological, political or juridical plane.

In this problematic context, Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu's broad, coherent and innovative view regarding the importance and traits of national independence and sovereignty, the relationships between the nation and sovereignty, between socialism and sovereignty, the connection between independence, interdependence and development, is of particular importance.

In today's world, in which the desire of the peoples to live free is asserting itself more and more vigorously, in which new independent states are manifesting themselves strongly in the world arena, the matter of autonomy, of each people's sovereign right to be the master in its own country, constitutes an objective law of social and historical development itself, reflected in the thinking of the secretary general of the party.

Pointing out the fact that the struggle of the peoples to gain and consolidate national independence and sovereignty represents, at the same time, a characteristic trait of the contemporary era, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses that its basic meaning consists of each people's sovereign right to be the master of its own resources and its own fate. This right is manifested through the free decision of the independent and sovereign states to develop themselves independently and to utilize the national riches in their own interest, without any outside influence, to secure real economic and political independence for themselves, to speed up the growth of the production forces and of the standard of living of the masses.

Criticizing certain theses of reactionary forces that try to accredit the idea that national independence is an obsolete social category that no longer corresponds to the current stage of historical development and that mankind would have entered the era of the companies, of the various supranational organizations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stated that the disarmament of the peoples and the perpetuation of the policy of encroachment and exploitation of the national riches of other states are pursued by means of such theories.

"The underestimation of the cause of the sovereignty of the peoples demonstrates a serious misunderstanding of the realities of the contemporary world," the secretary general of the party stressed, "in which the protection and consolidation of independence constitute a legitimate, progressive, revolutionary requirement that is the order of the day."\*

A basic requirement of a policy of peace, collaboration and solidarity among all states of the world, an essential element of international justice, national independence and sovereignty constitute, therefore, the object of wider and wider affirmation in international practice.

National sovereignty presupposes the complete capacity to exercise the prerogatives on an internal level, to adopt the most suitable measures for economic and social development, for the organization of the state, the direction of foreign relations, the involvement of the state in international relations, and participation in international organizations. National sovereignty thus has as a primary function the affirmation of the personality of each people, of each state.

The principle of sovereignty sanctions the complete independence of state power, the respective state's right to solve freely, without hindrance, as it wishes, its domestic and foreign problems, to dispose of the material and human resources as it wishes and needs. In promoting this principle, the Romanian view has made a special contribution in distinguishing new dimensions, new directions and dimensions--internal and international--that national sovereignty has acquired under the conditions of the contemporary world.

"Under any circumstances, it is necessary to start," Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "from the truth that the principle of sovereignty is universally valid and the same for all states, regardless of their size or social order, that it can be conceived only in a single way and can by no means be applied or interpreted differently for one country or another."\*\*

Examining the relationship between the nation and sovereignty, the secretary general of the party has noted as a sine qua non condition for the gaining and consolidation of independence /the achievement of national state unity/ in

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\* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilaterale Dezvoltate" /Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society/, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, Vol 12, p 610.

\*\*Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 12, pp 301-302.



italics<sup>7</sup>. Consequently, the glorious traditions of the Romanian people's age-old struggle for autonomy, to assert their right to an independent existence, to gain national independence and sovereignty, are often evoked, from the positions of a fiery revolutionary patriot, in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works.

In a broad historical perspective, there is pointed out the fact that, from the formation of the centralized Dacian state by Burebista in the 1st century B.C., from the era of Decebal's flourishing Dacian society and then over two millennia of existence, up to the present day, our people have had to wage hard struggles to form and protect their own being, their national entity. The entire significance of the gaining of national independence--a crowning of a long struggle waged by the Romanian people against foreign domination and oppression--and of the formation of the unified national state for the full affirmation of the Romanian people in contemporary history appears in the same perspective.

The historic act on 23 August 1944 and the socialist revolution and construction have given a new quality, a new dimension to the Romanian people's historical attachment to the cause of national independence.

At present, on an international level--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu states--both economic means and military means are used to practice the policy of domination and oppression, both means constituting a danger for the cause of independence and peace in the world. For this reason, Romania's multilateral contribution to the affirmation of a policy of independence, to the fulfillment of the rights of the states, of the peoples to existence and free development without outside interference, is also illustrated by the political, moral, diplomatic and material support given to the national liberation movements, by the continual expansion of its bilateral relations with the developing countries.

"We know," Romania's chairman stresses, "that independence cannot be gained by waiting for benevolence; it can be gained only through struggle."\*

For this reason, the struggle for the affirmation of the nations--an essential component part of the political scene of our era--has gotten special attention from the secretary general of our party.

A special significance is accorded by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the matter of national independence and sovereignty in the process of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society, with economic development providing in this stage, more than ever before, for the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty.

In Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu's view, national independence and sovereignty represent primary factors in the victory of the socialist revolution and construction, just as, in its turn, this victory represents the sure and lasting guarantee of the complete preservation and full manifestation of these inalienable prerogatives of the nation and national state, both in internal life and in international life. For this reason, the independent development and the

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\* Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 18, p 192.



flourishing of each socialist nation not only do not conflict with the interests of collaboration and solidarity among the socialist states but, on the contrary, are a basic condition for strengthening their force and unity, for increasing the prestige and influence of socialism in the world. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "National interests and proletarian internationalism do not exclude one another but, on the contrary, condition one another; there is a close interdependence, an organic dialectical unity, between them."\*

There is a close interconnection between the gaining and strengthening of national independence, of the national state, on the one hand, and economic and social development, the material and spiritual progress of the whole populace, on the other.

International reality demonstrates that any impairment of a people's national independence seriously affects not only its vital interests, its progress and development, but the general course itself of peace and civilization. A people from whom a part of its national prerogatives are taken ceases to be free and sovereign any longer, which, at the same time, endangers its social and economic development.

In the view of Romania's chairman, national independence is not contradictory to international solidarity. On the contrary, it is not possible to conceive of solidarity without national independence--just as it is not possible to conceive of independence without active, militant solidarity. In the contemporary world, national independence is closely connected with the development of collaboration and cooperation among states, with each nation's active participation in the world exchange of material and spiritual values. For this reason, independence and interdependence are not antinomic categories, under the current conditions, the independent economic and social development of the nations being a primary condition for the progress of all peoples, for lasting peace in the world.

"Striving for independent development, to be the master of our people's fate, we are for international collaboration, but this collaboration must really be collaboration, not subordination, not domination by some over others."\*\*

Consequently, an international policy based on respect for independence presupposes the preservation of the individuality, of the specific character of each people, of each nation, within the framework of a common, responsible action of the states, for achieving the general interests of humanity, especially in connection with the maintenance of peace and the elimination of underdevelopment.

The perseverance with which Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu promote the principle of respecting the sovereignty of all states and the numerous and important contributions along the line of specifying and developing its content express the special value accorded to /the primacy of the law/ *in italics* in interstate relations, strikingly illustrated by continual action not only for

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\* Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 4, p 792.

\*\*Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 193.

implementing but also for improving the principles and norms of contemporary international law, for adopting new principles and norms in keeping with the requirements of contemporary development.

Reaffirming Romania's orientation and position in carrying on relations with other states, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "At the basis of the relations with all states our country firmly places the principles of full equality in rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, abstention from force and from the threat of force--principles that possess wide recognition in the world arena, as the only ones on the basis of which it is possible to develop fruitful collaboration among nations, a climate of peace and international security."\*

A dominant trait of the view of our country, of its chairman, regarding the role of the principles of relations between states--basic principles of international law--consists of the primary value that is attributed to them. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "These principles are for today's human society, for relations of collaboration in the world, as air and water are for man's existence. How could we give up air and water? It would mean giving up life. No, we cannot give up these principles, because they constitute the condition for our independent and free life, the condition for the independent and free life of all nations of the world."\*\*

Consequently, the scope of Romania's foreign activity in promoting the principle of sovereignty is manifested in the devising of a scientific view regarding the principles and their role in interstate relations, their firm placement at the basis of our country's relations with the other countries of the world, with a special accent being given to the principle of respect for national sovereignty, to the right to a free, independent existence, in the bilateral treaties and in the joint declarations concluded or signed by our country.

Analyzing in depth the realities of the contemporary world, Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out the fact that, at present, there are many peoples who have gained their political independence but who continue to flounder in poverty as a result of the fact that their economies are still in the hands of the big monopolies of the supranational companies.

Consequently, starting from the historical experience--including our people's--that shows that the decisive factor in the consolidation of national independence is the development of a strong national economy, there is imposed the necessity of a special international effort directed toward the abolition of all forms of imperialist domination and oppression, of colonialism and neocolonialism, of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, within the framework of broader actions oriented toward the elimination of underdevelopment, of the big gaps that still separate the developing states from the advanced countries

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\* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XII-lea Congres al Partidului Comunist Roman" /A Report at the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party/, pp 100-101.

\*\*Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 5, p 919.

from an economic viewpoint, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

A phenomenon of a wide international reverberation, the concern of the nations and states for exercising complete sovereignty over their natural resources, for utilizing them and their foreign economic relations in their own interest of development, constitutes--at present--a new and legitimate manifestation of their inalienable rights, of national independence, an important factor both for their own progress and for the placement of the economic relations between states on the healthy bases of equality and mutual advantage.

These elements of Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu's broad view regarding national independence and sovereignty and the role and importance of the principles of international relations serve as a conceptual basis for an active, committed foreign policy, put in the service of building a peaceful and prosperous world.

12105

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## CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALIST STATES

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian Jan-Feb 83  
pp 48-54

[Article by Constantin Oancea: "Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu's Thinking on the Nature and Purpose of the Relations Among the Socialist Countries"]

[Text] The Socialist Republic of Romania consistently puts in the center of its international policy the development of political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations and those in other fields with all the socialist states, the expansion of mutually advantageous collaboration and cooperation and of mutual aid, the expansion of the sharing of experience in the construction of socialism and communism, and collaboration in the international arena in the struggle for socialism, security and peace.

This policy represents the programmatic orientation of the Romanian Communist Party, of socialist Romania. It has its source in our party's profound belief that unity and collaboration with and among the socialist countries constitute an important factor in success in erecting the socialist and communist society in each country, which, to the highest degree, corresponds to the interests of the peoples who are erecting the new order and contributes to the growth of socialism's influence and attraction on an international level.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has accorded and is according a particular importance to this matter, with his entire theoretical and practical work indicating the constant concern of our party and state for development of relations with the other socialist countries, the necessity of strengthening their collaboration and unity. In this framework, Romania devotes special attention to the development of relations with the neighboring countries. There is no work that refers to international problems--the reports presented at the congresses and national conferences of the Romanian Communist Party, the speeches made at home and abroad, the many interviews given to foreign correspondents--in which the party's secretary general and country's chairman has not addressed this matter too. And the many meetings (over 150 from 1965 to the present) of the leader of our party and state with the leaders of the socialist states and parties--meetings that have stimulated decisively the development of relations in all fields--demonstrate by deeds how action has been and is being taken concretely in this field.

In the Romanian Communist Party's program, drawn up under Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's direct guidance, it says that "collaboration with all the socialist countries--a factor of the greatest importance for the socialist development of our country and of all the socialist countries--will stand in the center of Romania's international activity." Starting from the analysis of the objective laws and processes that characterize the evolution of the socialist society in our country and of socialism in the world and stressing the important role that the socialist countries have in international life, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted, at the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982, that "Romania is acting to develop collaboration with all the socialist countries, to strengthen their solidarity and to overcome the existing divergences."\*

In the view of our party, of its secretary general, the strengthening of the collaboration and solidarity of the countries that are erecting the new order represents an objective necessity. It starts from the fact that the socialist countries constitute an assemblage of free, independent and sovereign states, with an economic and social order of the same type, with a common ideology, which are acting to attain the common goals of socialism and communism, which is creating the objective conditions for wide development of the relations among them, for the establishment of a superior type of international relations, which would provide for the multilateral development of each socialist state. At the same time, there are recognized the objective character of the differences and even the contradictions inherited or those that can appear among the socialist countries and the importance of the freely consented union of the efforts to overcome them by diplomatic means, through negotiations, taking into account the necessity of strengthening the collaboration and unity among the socialist countries, of increasing their role in international life and of increasing the prestige of socialism in the world. All these elements determine the nature of the relations among the socialist countries, relations that must be based in fact and unconditionally on the respecting by all states, under any circumstances, of the democratic principles sanctioned by international law. The historical importance, the power of example, the attractive and influential force of the relations among the socialist countries reside in their firm placement on the principles of full equality in rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, comradely mutual aid, mutual advantage and international solidarity. In keeping with these principles, each socialist state organizes and conducts independently its construction of socialism and communism, freely solves all its problems, without outside interference, excluding the exertion of any pressure, the use of force or the threat of its use, sovereignly disposes of national resources, of all wealth, and freely performs domestic and foreign functions, develops under conditions of complete equality the collaboration with the other socialist states, regardless of extent of territory, size of population, economic power and so on, works for relations of friendship, collaboration, solidarity and respect among all socialist countries.

Life and events have demonstrated the correctness of our party's position, according to which the above-mentioned principles form a single dialectical

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\* N. Ceausescu, "A Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982," SCINTEIA, 2 June 1982.

whole; they cannot be considered separately and cannot be opposed to one another. There is no contradiction between national independence and international obligations; on the contrary, there is a close dialectical unity; they condition one another. In proportion as the socialist countries develop themselves more and provide better living conditions for the respective peoples, in proportion as each country's independence and sovereignty are respected, their solidarity, collaboration and sovereignty in all fields are strengthened; better conditions are created for developing the collaboration with other states, with the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for peace and progress all over the world. Therefore, the sovereignty and independence of the socialist countries are not opposed in any way to international solidarity but, on the contrary, are an essential condition for their solidarity, their free and conscious collaboration in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of the common basic goals. Only unity among equals--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said--in all fields of activity can withstand any storms, just as any violation of these principles can only impair the unity of the socialist countries, the influence of socialism on a world level.

Of course, there is also a close dialectical connection between the fulfillment of national tasks and the international obligations of the peoples who are erecting the new order. On the one hand, success in the socialist revolution and construction can only be the result of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in each country, of the heroic toil of its own people, of the activity of each communist party. In the final analysis, the very force of the international solidarity of the socialist countries is based on the victories that each people obtains, under the leadership of its communist party, in erecting the new order, in economically and socially developing the homeland, in affirming in practice the superiority of the socialist mode of organization of society. At the same time, the mission, the purpose of the collaboration among the socialist countries, based on equality and mutual respect, is to encourage and stimulate the economic and social progress of each particular country, to contribute to the development and flourishing of each socialist nation, to provide for the stronger and stronger affirmation of the specific character and creative force of each people. Solidarity and collaboration must lead to the strong development of commercial exchanges, to the achievement of wide cooperation and specialization in production, to the faster growth of the production forces and the improvement of the production relations, to the equalization of the levels of economic development of all the socialist countries.

It is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's remarkable merit of having substantiated the highly significant thesis that the development of collaboration with and among the socialist countries serves to speed up the construction of the new order, to strengthen the force and prestige of socialism in the world.

The dialogue and the bilateral and multilateral collaboration between our country and the socialist countries include a wide range of contacts, visits, consultations and exchanges of views regarding problems of common interest in the most diverse fields, understandings and programs of steps and actions for attaining the agreed objectives. The continual and diversified presence of the socialist countries in the daily chronicle of our country's political life speaks about the intensity of these relations.



The decisive role in the multilateral expansion and the deepening of Romania's relations with the socialist countries goes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's meetings with the party and state leaders of the socialist countries, to the ties established between the Romanian Communist Party and the communist and workers parties in these states. The documents signed at the highest level--treaties, declarations, communiques, governmental agreements--and the other decisions and understandings reached establish the orientations and guidelines of the collaboration for long periods of time.

Acting in the spirit of these understandings, the parliaments, the governments, the central and local party and state bodies, the trade-union, women's and youth organizations, and the other political and public organizations are making their contribution to strengthening the friendship and developing the collaboration with the socialist countries.

A priority place in Romania's concerns for the development of relations with the socialist countries goes to economic, scientific and technical collaboration. Considering that the growth of commercial exchanges and the expansion of cooperation and specialization in production and in scientific and technological research constitute an objective necessity for all the socialist countries, an important contribution to solving the problems of the economic and social development of each of them, our country acts constantly to develop economic relations with the socialist countries. As a result, they occupy first place in Romania's foreign trade with a percentage of approximately 40 percent. Besides bilateral collaboration, our country accords a great importance to the multilateral collaboration within CEMA, collaboration that is called upon to contribute to the speedup of the economic development of the member states, to the gradual equalization of their levels of development.

Pointing out the principles and the mission of the economic collaboration among the countries that are erecting the new order, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that "one of the basic principles of the interstate relations of a new type with a socialist character is the equalization of the levels of development of the countries that are erecting the new social order, the raising of all of them to a higher degree of civilization and well-being. In this way, socialism, both as a mode of organization of society and as a new model of relations among countries, reveals its superiority in the most convincing manner, demonstrating that it is the only course for eliminating the consequences of underdevelopment, the phenomenon of inequality between states, for the multilateral and harmonious progress of all nations of the world."\*

Under the current conditions of the growth of the world economic crisis, when the leading capitalist countries are resorting to discrimination in economic relations with the socialist countries, the growth of the collaboration among these states is dictated as an essential requirement. The socialist countries have already reached a stage of development that permits them, through their

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\* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilaterale Dezvoltate" /Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society/, Vol 8, Politica Publishing House, 1973, p 402.



own efforts and through the wide development of reciprocal economic collaboration and cooperation, to successfully solve many essential problems of economic and social development, of socialist construction and of growth in the well-being of their peoples.

Starting from the above-mentioned considerations, our party and state proposed, as far back as in 1980, the organization of a conference of the leaders of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member countries, within which the concrete problems of the economic collaboration among these countries in the current 5-year period and in the future would be tackled. The basic objective of this conference must consist of finding and promoting new concrete forms and methods that would provide for the expansion of economic collaboration and cooperation, on the basis of the continual growth of specialization in production, with a view to meeting with their own forces the need for raw materials, fuel and energy resources, for food products, and speeding up the scientific and technical progress of these countries.

The expansion of cooperation and specialization in production must start from the large technical-material base created in each of the socialist countries, from the concrete possibilities that each country possesses, providing for the full use of the existing production capacities with maximum economic efficiency. Collaboration and specialization must constitute strong support for each people's own efforts to utilize to the utmost the material and human potential that it possesses, for the forging of a strong, modern and efficient, multilaterally developed economy in each socialist country.

Bearing in mind that, under the current conditions, collaboration between states constitutes a necessity imposed both by the world division of labor, by the more and more marked interdependence between the national economies, and by the interests of peace and detente, our country is working for wide and intense collaboration with the CEMA member countries, for the expansion of the economic relations with the other socialist countries that do not belong to this organization, for the intensification of the multilateral collaboration and cooperation with them. It is also expanding the collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries, with the nonaligned ones, starting from the imperative of support for the efforts of these countries on the way to their free and independent economic and social development, for the struggle against the imperialist and neocolonialist policy, for the establishment of a new international economic order, for friendship and collaboration between peoples. In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, of full equality in rights and mutual advantage, Romania is steadily promoting collaboration with the developed capitalist countries, with all countries of the world, regardless of social order. At the same time, it considers it necessary for the socialist countries to intensify their efforts and to act more firmly on an international level to bring about abstention from discriminatory economic measures, from the policy of economic sanctions against countries and groups of countries, from the policy of high and enslaving interest.

In the view of our party and state, considering that each socialist country is building the new order under specific economic and social conditions, it must be continually borne in mind that the forms and principles of collaboration

must be in complete agreement with the principle of strengthening each party's role in steadily fulfilling the sovereign attributes and responsibilities that it has in running the national economy, the economic and social life in each country, in erecting the socialist and communist society. Consequently, any forms of organization with a supranational character which take the place of the inalienable attributes of the states and which conflict with the principles of socialist relations, of equality and mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, for each people's right to decide its fate by itself, without any outside interference, are unacceptable.

Differences of opinion, different judgments and approaches regarding the ways to construct the new order, some problems of the world revolutionary process and of the relations among the socialist countries, have also appeared and can appear between the communist parties and the socialist states. Our party sees in this something natural, normal, which must not be exaggerated or dramatized. The diversity of the economic, political, social and national conditions, the historical characteristics and the different stages of development of the socialist countries generate differences in the forms of socialist construction, in the methods of organizing the economy and social life. These differences are natural and inevitable in the so complex process that the formation of the new order requires. Experience demonstrates that the advance of the socialist countries makes it absolutely necessary to apply the general truths of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions of each people that is erecting the new order. The creative, original way in which each socialist country solves the problems of economic and social development is an objective necessity, represents an important factor in progress, a contribution to enriching the general experience and practice of socialist construction, a contribution to developing the common treasury of contemporary revolutionary thought.

Some differences of opinion on a number of problems regarding the realities of the contemporary world have also appeared, as a result of the strong development of international life, of the general contradictions existing on a world level. In the complex process of social activity, it often happens that international phenomena or events are understood or interpreted differently by one party or another, differences of opinion or of judgment appear.

There are also problems bequeathed from the past, problems created by the policy of the oppressing classes, those left by imperialist and colonialist domination. However, it is the duty of the communist and workers parties to do everything so that such problems do not overshadow the collaboration and solidarity of the socialist countries, of the peoples who are building the new order. In such situations, it is absolutely necessary to put in the forefront the traditions of friendship and solidarity of the peoples, of the revolutionary and working-class movements in the socialist countries.

Our party and state feel that it is necessary to start from the necessity of not asserting that such divergences, misunderstandings and contradictions do not exist, because life belies this assertion. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, the supreme interests of socialism require not the concealment of reality, but the understanding and knowing of the divergences and contradictions, the thorough analysis, in the most responsible way, of the causes that generate

disagreements and disputes. Only in this way is it also possible to find the ways to resolve them, in the interest of strengthening the solidarity and collaboration among the socialist countries in the construction of the new order, in the general struggle for progress and peace in the world. On the contrary, the concealment of reality, the perpetuation of the divergences, the failure to resolve them can only impair the relations among the socialist countries and deepen the distrust among them.

In addition, the existence of differences of opinion must not impede in any way the development of relations and collaboration among the socialist countries. It is every communist party's obligation--which starts both from national interests and from socialism's general interests--to act in the spirit of mutual respect, national independence and sovereignty, full equality in rights and the principles of socialism to solve by means of direct understanding the problems arising among the socialist countries that they represent, the disagreements and divergences between them. The only way to eliminate the divergences and contradictions, to solve all disputes between the socialist countries, in order to achieve the reestablishment of the trust, of the relations of friendship and collaboration among them, is discussion from party to party, from government to government, in a spirit of complete mutual respect, in an atmosphere of calm. As regards us--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated--we will do everything so that any problem concerning which there are differences of opinion between the Romanian Communist Party, our country and other parties or socialist countries is solved only by means of discussions, negotiations, with a view to strengthening the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries.

Life has shown that public polemic, blaming and mutual labeling impair even more the relations among the socialist countries, poison even more the atmosphere among peoples, deepen the distrust among them. Romania, continually expanding its good relations with all the socialist states, does not get involved in any way in public polemic, in blaming one or another of the socialist countries but, on the contrary, is doing everything to overcome the misunderstandings, to strengthen the solidarity. Our country has not contraposed and does not contrapose in any way the relations with one socialist country to the relations of friendship and collaboration with another socialist country. "On the contrary," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "all these relations of Romania with the socialist countries, without any exception, form a unified whole, at the basis of which lies our principled, firm and consistent policy of an active contribution to strengthening the unity and solidarity of all the socialist states, to increasing the force and influence of socialism in the world."

In developing the friendship between the socialist countries, for deepening the mutual appreciation and knowledge, the exchanges of spiritual values, the collaboration in the realm of culture, art, education and means of mass information, have an important role. Acting directly on the individual consciousnesses, the relations in these spheres of activity exert an active influence on the climate of bilateral relations, have a significant contribution to forming in public opinion a true, correct image of the life, the activity, the achievements obtained and the problems with which the friendly peoples are confronted in erecting the new order. This orientation is promoted consistently by our country in the cultural and scientific relations and in the other fields with all the socialist countries.

The contemporary realities make necessary, more than ever before, the intensification of the collaboration on an international level among the socialist countries, their more active involvement in the efforts to attain the major objectives of today's world, for which Romania is acting with all possible firmness: the elimination of the imperialist policy of force and any forms of domination and oppression, the stopping of the arms race and the turning to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, the disbanding of the opposed military blocs, the elimination of underdevelopment and the achievement of a new international economic order, the providing of security and collaboration in Europe and all over the world.

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## ROMANIA

### MEDICAL ASSISTANCE IN AIRBORNE OPERATIONS

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4 Oct-Nov-Dec 82 pp 347-352

[Article by colonel Constantin Stanculescu, M.D., and colonel Gheorghe Cosovei, M.D.]

[Text] Medical assistance in airborne operations is organized and conducted in light of the provisions of our military doctrine.

Sensible utilization of airborne operations is a military procedure that can cause heavy loss to the enemy with reduced forces.

In organizing and conducting medical assistance activities account is taken of the methods for using airborne operations, the specific nature of the missions and their duration, the participating forces, the characteristics of the terrain, the meteorological conditions and specifically the fact that the operations unfold on the national territory behind the enemy units.

Medical assistance is organized on the basis of stages, has a unified character and covers the period of preparation of the operations, landing (parachuting) and the period of conducting the fighting operations.

One of the chief elements which characterize the contents of modern Romanian military art involves the doctrinary concept according to which military fighting must be conducted only for the defense of our socialist homeland. It follows that the war waged by all the people against any aggressor will be conducted only on the national territory. Moreover, the national military doctrine stipulates the concept on the need for defeating an enemy that is superior in terms of armed forces and military technique with reduced forces and means, by adopting for this purpose adequate fighting forms and methods that cause heavy loss to the aggressor.

Wise use of airborne operations to attack by surprise the enemy that temporarily penetrated the national territory is one of the fighting methods which can cause heavy loss to the enemy by using reduced forces.

Under the present conditions of conducting military operations, airborne operations can be used in both the tactical and operational depth of the enemy troops.

Depending on strength, the echelon that use them (division, army) and the missions and depth where the area of launching or landing is located, the airborne operations may be tactical or operational.

The tactical airborne operations, as a rule, are prepared and conducted by the mechanized division (regiment) and, in principle, involve reinforced motorized infantry subunits (companies, battalions) and are used in the offensive strip of the division (regiment), in the depth of the enemy defensive units.

The operational airborne operations are prepared and conducted by the army and may be at the level of a regiment (battalion), being composed of special parachuting operation troops or air landed troops, utilized in the operational depth of the enemy units.

In offensive, both the tactical and operational airborne operations are assigned the mission of occupying and maintaining, until the joining with the national troops, some important areas or mandatory passage points (passes, viaducts, tunnels), whose occupation and maintenance assures successful and swift development of the military operations of the national major forces. Hence, it follows that both tactical and operational military airborne operations are conducted in close coordination with the offensive operations of the troops in the strip where they are used.

The procedures of using airborne operations, the specific nature of the missions and their duration, the participating forces, the characteristics of the terrain on which they unfold, the meteorological conditions, and the fact that the military operations proceed in the depth of the enemy troop disposition, but on the national territory, are factors that generate specific facets in the organization and development of medical assistance.

All these conditions need to be thoroughly studied during the period of preparation of the airborne operations for the purpose of developing adequate approaches to provision of medical assistance.

Consequently, in light of the duration of the mission, it is necessary to ensure the medical-sanitary personnel and the sanitary-pharmaceutical materials that assure provision of medical assistance until joining with the national troops.

In case the airborne operations proceed on a terrain with ample covering that provides proper camouflage conditions, the provision of medical assistance is facilitated by the possibility of removing the wounded from the enemy fire and secretly sheltering and evacuating them. The meteorological conditions directly impact on the general condition of the wounded and, consequently, in case of a low temperature accompanied by excessive humidity, it is necessary to protect the wounded by sheltering them in the basement of buildings or by improvising shelters out of straw, leaves or corn stalks.

When it is not possible to evacuate the wounded, it is advisable to group them toward the center of the combat disposition and shelter them, making use of the possibilities offered by the terrain and coverings.

In light of the fact that the military airborne operations proceed on the national territory, the possibility exists for urging the support of the local population for taking over some wounded and looking after them, secretly, until joining with the national forces.



Because provision with sanitary-pharmaceutical materials is difficult or impossible, it is necessary to apply the wisest possible administration of medicines and, if needed, to improvise in terms of dressing material, using for this purpose any kind of textiles that are suitable for making bandages or compresses.

Of special importance is the distribution of the medical-sanitary staff for the various subunits depending on the sequence in the execution of the operations or, if these are simultaneous, depending on the duration and succession in the completion of the missions assigned to subunits.

It must be taken into consideration that the operations may commence immediately after the landing and consequently the wounded may appear before the medical team of the airborne operation goes into service or even landed. This necessitates special organization and assignment of the medical-sanitary personnel and sanitary materials on the air transport facilities at the point of embarkation in airborne operations.

#### Medical Assistance During Preparation of Airborne Operations

The medical assistance of tactical airborne operations is organized by the chief-physician of the regiment (division), who must be constantly concerned with the overall preparation of the medical formation of the subunit (unit) that will be utilized in tactical (operational) airborne operations.

During the period of preparation of these operations and during the embarkation, hence both in the area of formation and briefing, and in that of embarkation, the medical formation of the subunit (unit) which is assigned such a mission has the following major duties:

- a. Preparation for evacuation of the existing wounded and sick and of those that appear until embarkation;
- b. Distribution to subunits (units) of the first-aid medical materials and supplementation of the stock for the medical team involved;
- c. Briefing of the medical personnel for provision of medical assistance during embarkation, transportation and at the point of landing (parachuting);
- d. Training of the medical teams involved during tactical drills executed by the airborne operation units for the purpose of absorbing and upgrading the procedures for providing medical assistance and carrying out the evacuations immediately after the landing (parachuting) of the airborne operation unit and during the combat operations;
- e. Adequate packaging of the medical materials to prevent deterioration during parachuting (landing);
- f. Assignment of the medical forces and medical materials to the various transport facilities. This problem is resolved in compliance with the order of the commander of the airborne operations and the instructions given by the chief-physician of the division (regiment).



The chief-physician of the mechanized division (regiment) conducts and is personally responsible for the training of the medical formation that will be involved in the airborne operations and for the level of provision with medical materials. Therefore, he must in advance take some measures such as:

- a. Overall provision of the medical team involved with medical materials and reinforcement of this team with medical staff that has proper specialized training and initiative;
- b. Organization of the evacuation of the seriously wounded from the point of landing (parachuting) until the joining with the major forces;
- c. Determination of the manner in which the medical formation of the airborne operations will cooperate with the major forces from the point of the joining;
- d. Organization of medical assistance in the waiting section during the confluence toward the embarkation section and during embarkation.

In light of the time and way in which the medical formation of the airborne operations is supposed to begin its activity after the landing (parachuting), the chief-physician of the division (regiment) must make suggestions regarding the time of embarkation, the kind of air transport facilities and the number of these facilities.

The assignment of the medical personnel and medical materials to the various air transport facilities (helicopters or airplanes) and to the various subunits must proceed in such a way as to ensure service immediately after landing. Furthermore, the assignment must ensure service for the medical formation from the start, at full capacity. When the airborne operation unit involved is at the level of a reinforced motorized infantry battalion, its medical formation may receive extra medical personnel from the regiment's formation and also medical materials up to 1/2-1/3 of the value of the stock that must exist there, with supplements specifically involving dressing, antibiotics, chemical drugs, blood substitutes, crystalloid solutions, anesthetics and analgesics. There will be a reduction in sanitary-pharmaceutical materials which are not necessary for provision of emergency medical assistance and for vital assistance. One or two helicopters are needed for transportation of the battalion medical unit, tests showed. It is advisable for its personnel together with a part of the medical materials to land with the first tactical echelon (the first company). The remainder of the forces and the medical means given as reinforcement are transported with the last subunit and land before the subunit's landing as a whole.

When the airborne operation forces are at the level of a regiment, the regiment medical unit, after a prior selection of the materials for the purpose of reducing their volume to a minimum, are transported on at least two helicopters, including one with a part of the medical personnel and medical materials landing simultaneously with the last company of the second battalion and the other, together with the last subunit of the third battalion. Bringing a part of the personnel and facilities of the regiment medical unit into the airborne operation area with the last subunit of the second battalion is necessitated by the fact that this area will contain the forces that already entered the combat.

Consequently, embarkation, transportation and landing of the medical formations of the airborne operations, regardless of their level, must be organized, planned and completed so that these formations may be ensured the possibility of going into service in the area of landing (parachuting) simultaneously with the landing of most of the forces and facilities of the airborne operation.

From the area of airborne operations, from the area of waiting for embarkation, and from the embarkation points, the wounded and the sick are evacuated to the closest medical formations of the troops or to those that serve the aviation unit (subunit) that provides transportation for the airborne operations.

For ensuring medical assistance for the airborne operations in the area of landing (parachuting) and in that of combat operations, the medical formations must have the strictly necessary amounts of materials for service until the joining with the major forces of the division (regiment).

#### Medical Assistance in Landing (Parachuting) Area and During Combat Operations

An urgent problem that must be resolved involves medical assistance for the troops that land (parachute) concomitantly with taking of measures for medical assistance during the movement of subunits toward the area (alignment) of combat operations.

At this stage, the battalion's medical unit with a part of the forces ensures medical assistance at the points of landing (parachuting) and with the majority of forces moves together with the subunits that landed (parachuted) toward the place (area) set for disposition and going into operation when the combat against the enemy is started. When the landing is completed, the medical personnel left at the landing points joins the composition of the second part of the battalion medical unit and moves toward the spot (area) where the battalion medical unit is disposed, concomitantly with the last subunit that landed.

The wounded produced during transportation, after provision of first aid will remain in helicopters (airplanes) and will return aboard these. The wounded that appeared during landing will receive first aid on the spot and will then be grouped in shelters for protection against the enemy fire; those with slight wounds move together with the subunit to which they belong and continue further in the combat. If the area contains civilians it is advisable to turn them over to these people for care.

The battalion (regiment) medical unit moves from the landing area toward the target that must be captured and kept by the airborne operation forces together with the subunits and within their column.

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TREATMENT OF PSYCHIATRIC ILLNESSES IN MILITARY FORCES

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4 Oct-Nov-Dec 82 pp 385-389

[Article by captain Radian-Ioan Folescu, M.D.]

[Text] The author analyzes the possibilities for psychiatric examination by the unit physician, the tie with specialists for definition of the diagnosis and of the medical-military status of people in military forces who display clinical manifestations of psychiatric illnesses and treatment and recovery procedures for some of them.

The individual is constantly and intensely required to adapt to the continually changing environment. Within ordinary limits, each individual displays an adaptation ability which allows him to fit into the environment which in his turn he influences, a fact that is achieved through the neuropsychical adaptive systems.

In recent years, in the context of modern living, with its advantages but also with its disadvantages, an increase is noted in Romania too, as also internationally, in the number of young people with behavioral disturbances, because of some social, biological and ecological factors. It must be pointed out that, under more adverse environmental conditions, either because of duration or unforeseen onset, or because of supraliminal intensity of stress, there may appear, even in normal subjects, psychiatric troubles of disadaptation (reactive conditions, respectively stress conditions).

For many young conscripts, the military environment, with its specific character and the adaptive effort that it requires, is a stress factor. In these young people, it is very difficult to foresee if the adaptive disturbances that appear will or will not be compensable, all the more so because some already display various psychiatric peculiarities, such as: immaturity, neurotic disturbances, psychoaffective lability and so forth. Let us remember that the abnormal reactivity of individuals cannot be predicted, with the exception of some cases of psychiatric illnesses which seriously affect judgment.

Under these conditions, the unit's physician, a general practitioner, is required to help determine the adaptive capacity of young people who are supposed to serve in the armed forces and who display different psychological structures. He must maintain permanent contact with the commanders at various levels (educational factors) and with the neuropsychiatric specialists in military polyclinics and hospitals for the purpose of elucidating the aptitude of young adults in fulfilling their military duties.

In this survey we planned to analyze a number of cases of psychiatric manifestations found in the military forces, in the unit, during four training cycles. We wish to point out from the beginning that the unit's specific character permitted a better selection of conscripts in military centers for the purpose of the best possible fulfillment of the missions that will be entrusted to them. Consequently, we had briefings with the officers assigned to the military centers, with regard to various psychiatric manifestations so that these persons, within the available span of time, may study the medical files of the recruits, have a talk with them, and back at the unit, notify the physician of matters that seemed peculiar to them.

On the arrival of the recruits, after the brief medical examination, I studied the medical files, recording the personal pathological antecedents, and also noting the neuropsychiatric and even penal antecedents.

During the first 2 weeks, at the time of the first vaccination, I conducted the medical examination for the various subunits, in the presence of their commandants, indicating to them which young people were susceptible to develop disadaptive reactions. Moreover, the cadres of the unit were given courses of sanitary education, delineating the recruits' period of adaptation (about 2 months), the efforts to which they would be subjected (which must be progressive), with the emphasis on the fact that very helpful to the physician are the observations on: behavior, posture, capacity of understanding and concentration, whether or not they display bizarre manifestations, fits of crying, irritation, tremor, timidity, heightened emotivity, somnolence, and so forth. Furthermore, it was recommended to them to show ample concern regarding some personal problems of the new subordinates. There also were cases, especially involving young officers, when personal observations on the "inappropriate" behavior of some young army men were exaggerated.

These are only a few aspects of active detection in cases of psychiatric disturbances, observation involving all army men continuing throughout the duration of the service. During the period of the four training cycles I recorded 29 cases of clinical manifestations of psychiatric illnesses, which may be grouped as follows:

|                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| I. Post-traumatic cranial sequelae | 4  |
| II. Neurotic disturbances          | 23 |
| III. Psychopathies.                | 2  |

I. Post-traumatic cranial sequelae in antecedents. As symptoms I found: attacks of or persistent diffuse cephalaea, fatigability, asthenia, irritability, reduced capacity of concentration, reduced output in work in variable proportions. The cases were:

a. Sequelae of post-traumatic encephalopathy, with reduced functional disturbances; rated A.N.C. peacetime and wartime by the medical commission of the origin military center, did not pose special adaptive problems and seldom and intermittently required vitamin- and psycho-therapy;

b. Subjective troubles after acute closed craniocerebral traumatism; hospitalized at the Central Military Hospital, received treatment at the unit, involving sedatives (Napoton, Diazepam), vitamins; clinically improved;

c. Lack of right parietal bone matter 2/4 cm) cranial post-traumatism, with neurotic disturbances. It was detected at the unit and the subject was hospitalized at the Central Military Hospital, rated A.N.C. peacetime and wartime, without special adaptive problems, received outpatient treatment with vitamins, Mechlophenoxate and Hydroxyzine;

d. Post-traumatic cerebrasthenia, with EEG modifications, hospitalized; rated A.N.C. peacetime and wartime, for acute viral hepatitis; well adapted, subjectively affected by the new pain, protected in effort, appropriate psychotherapy, hepatotropic medication.

II. Neurotic disturbances. We point out that 15 out of the 23 cases were reactive neurotic disturbances, caused by conflictual situations in subunits or in the family. Clinically they involved: increased emotivity, sometimes insomnia, irritability, logorrhea, crying, slight agitation and gesticulation, threats against guilty people, timidity when someone had a discussion with them, adynamia or even depression. There were no cases of self- or hetero-aggressivity. Out of these, six required a stay in the infirmary, with supervision, and treatment with Diazepam, Romergan, vitamins, psychotherapy in the presence of the subunit commandants. The remaining nine cases received outpatient treatment with Hydroxyzine, vitamins, between 3-4 days, and the conflicts that generated the reactions were discussed in subunits. Down the road they did not pose adaptive problems until completion of military service.

Another case, neurotic syndrome, detected at the territorial military center, received periodical treatment with Algocalmin, Cyclobarbitol, B group vitamins, good adaptation.

The other seven cases (including a pithiatic neurosis) required stays in the specialized ward of the Central Military Hospital, for definition of diagnosis and of the medical-military status. The clinical symptomatology was very diversified: cephalaea (permanent or with attacks, diffuse or hemicrania), sleep disorders (with nightmares, waking during the night, sometimes insomnia, somnolence during the day, lack of rest), neurovegetative disturbances (perspiration, tachycardia, extrasystoles, precordial stings, "a lump in the throat," sighing), slight tremor of extremities and eyelids. The patients displayed permanent fatigue, sometimes reduced capacity of concentration and mental output, and anxiety. Also observed were irritability and irascibility in minor conflictual situations, increased emotivity, sometimes states of undefined panic, depression or, conversely, increased excitability, logorrhea, mental agitation, threats against persons around them or against themselves (without attempt to suicide), claims that their pain was not acknowledged (two cases). Noted were increased concern and exaggeration of the meanings of some organic disorders (nausea, tachycardia, precordialgia, dysuria). One case, nosologically rated as pithiatic neurosis, involved a condition of obnubilation, eyelid tremor, superficial breathing, with sighing, crying and a functional paresis of the upper right limb (which disappeared when the fit ended, with the physician using the persuasive method, demonstrating to him that passive motions can be made with the segment involved).

These cases were labelled as follows: asthenoneurotic disorders (1), neurotic disorders (3) (one was rated A.N.C. peacetime and wartime, hospitalized twice), neurotic reaction against the backdrop of constitutional psychoaffective lability (1) and

depressive-reactive condition against a psychoaffective labile background (1). Hospitalizations totalled 84 days and medical certificates were given for 45 sick days. The patients received dispensary treatment at the unit, with intermittent administration of Hydroxyzine, Diazepam, Romergan, Cavit, B group vitamins, meclophenoxate; measures were taken for supervision in subunits and for periodical checkups. They no longer posed problems of adaptation to conditions in military service.

III. The cases of psychopathy (2) required one and respectively two stays in the specialized ward of the Central Military Hospital for definition of the diagnosis with 52 days of hospitalization (and 14 sick days). The presumptive diagnosis at the time of hospitalization was: polymorphous neurotic syndrome, respectively minor behavioral and neurotiform disorders.

The symptoms were multiple and varied: querulousness, conflicts in the subunit, insubordination, complaints and aggressive threats against some cadres, unjustified protests, sloppiness, raptuses, repeated escapes from the unit (even from arrests), mythomania. Personal antecedents (information also gathered from the family) show: indiscipline at school, with absence without leave, conflicts with schoolmates, fights, frequent conflicts with parents and wife (one was married), leaving home repeatedly, failure to fulfill functional duties on the job, with absences without leave, rhythmical and heavy alcohol consumption, states of depression, isolation, threats with suicidal attempts. One of the patients constantly asked for leaves and furloughs to see his wife and child; when they were not granted he left the unit without permission and when they were granted he did not go home but went to restaurants, movie theatres and other parties with his friends.

Examination of these patients resulted in the rating: unfit for peacetime service, A.N.C. wartime.

In all the cases that required hospitalization at the Central Military Hospital the unit's physician added to the hospitalization form a note (on the reverse side) or a report on the behavior of the conscript involved, from drafting to date, completed in accordance with the technical provisions on mental testing of the army men on guard duty.

As measures to prevent special events that might be caused by more or less clinically apparent mental disorders, the unit's command approved that all those who had been hospitalized for behavioral disorders should not fulfill guard duties and should remain under the care and supervision of the subunit cadres and physician. Furthermore, at firing armament of the unit, these army men have a closely supervising cadre attached to them during this activity, with the physician or the sanitary NCO being present in the shooting range.

Some conclusions may be drawn, as follows: proper cooperation between the unit's physician and the responsible parties in units, and the contact with specialists in the military hospital produce better detection and more adequate examination of conscripts with psychiatric illnesses and also result in adaptation to the requirements of military service of some minor disaptatives (who present a "minor risk" of decompensation) by educational measures, dispensarization, sedatives and psychotherapy.

However, certainly a "major risk" always exists that young adults who psychologically cannot cope with the requirements of military service might still be drafted because of the absence of documentation from their past and might not present



clinically evident symptoms immediately. They may generate special events in units. For the purpose of reducing their number, it is stringently necessary, at the time of drafting, to add to the health file of every recruit a characterization on his personality from the responsible parties in schools or at the work place, in accordance with the guide outlined by the neuropsychiatric ward of the Central Military Hospital.

For the best possible examination also useful are the documents on the antecedents of the patients (prescriptions, notes of release from specialized hospitals, medical recommendations, health reports) that should accompany them in units, information gathered from family and friends, and the medical clinical observation.

Moreover, outstanding is the importance of increasing the military general practitioner's knowledge and professional competency regarding psychiatric illnesses, that is achieved by individual study and a tour of duty in the hospital neuropsychiatric ward.

Of course, the future will provide military physicians at all levels with additional facilities and methods for upgrading early and active detection of mental disorders in draftees, especially in borderline cases.

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CREATIVE ASPECT OF MARX' THEORY HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 8, 25 Apr 83 pp 4-6

/Article by Petru Ignat and Pamfil Nichitelea: "Viability of the Revolutionary Theory As an Expression of Its Creative Spirit"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Marx and Engels pointed out that their theory is no dogma or dead letter but a guide to action and a method of analyzing social phenomena, of interpreting the changes that take place in the world, and of determining revolutionary strategy and tactics."

It is a significant and appropriate historical coincidence that the year in which the Romanian people are celebrating the 90th anniversary of the founding of the political party of the Romanian working class, the standard-bearer of the fearless struggle against exploitation and oppression, for national independence and sovereignty, and for revolutionary social reform, should also be the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism.

From the beginnings of its political organization the Romanian workers movement was to act in the spirit of the Marxist revolutionary theory and in accordance with the nature and characteristics of Romania's social evolution, since the Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania /PSDMR/ proposed in its political program to lead the revolutionary struggle for acquisition of political power by the working class and the other urban and rural workers and for socialist organization of society.

Karl Marx' bold and innovating spirit gave rise to a conception of the world that has withstood the tests of time and has been validated by history despite all vicissitudes, distortions and open or disguised attacks. That is because historical and dialectical-materialist thought has been and is able to keep pace with life's demands and the revolutionary changes and to be receptive to all that is new in social experience and human knowledge.

The ideas of the great revolutionary thinker and leader penetrated ever deeper into the peoples' consciousness and became a vast, worldwide ideological force and a major expediter of social progress.

The victory of socialism, the order Marx foresaw over a century ago as the inevitable direction of society's historical development, the new order's growing prestige in the world, the development of the international communist and labor movement, and the unprecedented growth of the social and political forces fighting for peace, democracy and progress, all those processes clearly reveal the permanence and powerful influence of Marxism and its capacity for reform.

The revolution in human thought that Marxism accomplished is inherent in the main idea of Marx' works, namely historical and dialectical materialism, which armed the working class with the high awareness of its historic mission as a fundamental force in the struggle for socialism. Together with Friedrich Engels, his comrade in ideas and the struggle, Karl Marx relieved socialism of its Utopian illusions and placed it on the solid ground of a truly scientific theory. Consequently Marxism did not arise aside from the path of civilization but as a natural continuation of the most advanced thought of the time. Through critical selection of all that was more worthy that had accumulated in the social sciences and through study of the new socioeconomic processes and trends, Marx and Engels created a uniform, scientific conception of nature, society and knowledge.

The method of historical and dialectical-materialist analysis of the social, economic and political facts, a method that is still entirely valid as the only one that makes it possible to interpret all social experience in a state of constant evolution and change, led Marx to a determinist conception of social development based on the idea of a succession of social orders of classes and the class struggle as motive forces for social progress. He drew the historically highly important conclusion that socialism will inevitably replace the capitalist system, which is condemned to death by "laws inherent in capitalist production itself," and that it is the mission of the working class as the most advanced social force in society to accomplish this great revolution under the leadership of its revolutionary party.

Philosophy itself acquired a new status from Marxism, that of contributing not only to explanation of the world but also to its reform. In fact, the value and vitality of Marx' thought lie in this fundamental correlation of philosophy with reality. As Marx wrote, "Since any true philosophy represents the intellectual quintessence of its era, the time must come when philosophy contacts and interrelates with the real world of its time, not only internally in its content but also externally, in its manifestations." Works like "Manifesto of the Communist Party," "Capital," "Bases of the Critique of Political Economics" et al. were true instruments of thought and struggle and instruction of the working class. They guided its steps in revolutionary activity, revealed to it its historic role, and helped it organize and develop its class awareness.

Marxism set a brilliant example of application of materialist dialectics to working class tactics, and of a realistic and creative approach to the problems of the workers movement. Marx and Engels repeatedly stressed the live, creative nature of their doctrine and its dialectical connection with the particular practical problems of the period.

The revolutionary theory is emerging today as an invaluable instrument of social reform and proving its ability to answer the extremely complex questions of our time. The viability of the Marxist theory and scientific socialism can be

maintained and strengthened only by constant comparison with our constantly changing practical experience. As we know, Marx, Engels, Lenin and other revolutionary thinkers of the working class kept pointing out that the revolutionary theory must keep up with the times and innovating changes and must find suitable ways and means of dealing with the new phenomena, trends and processes in man's development. As Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned in this connection, "The great theorists of the proletariat, Marx, Engels and Lenin, took a particularly firm and aggressive stand against any attempts to present the revolutionary theory as a dogma set once and for all, and they ridiculed those who made such attempts. They always regarded the revolutionary theory as a guide to action and a weapon and demanded its enrichment and development in keeping with constantly changing experience in the social struggle."

The theory of scientific socialism and the great work of Karl Marx as a revolutionary thinker and fighter became known early in Romania, and his ideas were received and applied creatively to the specific-historical Romanian conditions against the background of the democratic, progressive, materialist traditions in Romanian thought. As we know, back in the second half of the last century Romanian revolutionaries and leading militant socialists came in contact with the ideas in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" and other works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Capital" especially, and with the ideas of the Paris Commune, and they kept the Romanian workers movement informed about the most advanced thought of the period.

Adoption of the revolutionary theory as a militant program hastened the organization and maturity of the Romanian working class and helped to develop its political awareness and to place the workers movement squarely in the most advanced positions on the fundamental problems facing the Romania people in that period. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The Romanian revolutionary movement always based its activity on the teachings of Marx and Engels. That is why both the revolutionary movement of the past and especially the RCP could and did lead the social and national struggles in Romania successfully and the great battles victoriously that were fought by the working class, the other revolutionary forces and the whole Romanian people for the overthrow of bourgeois-landowner oppression and for socialist construction."

Under the influence of the Marxist ideas, the programs of the Romanian workers movement formulated a number of advanced theories about the role and functions of the revolutionary party, its ideological foundations and functional structure, and the characteristics that distinguished it from the other political parties.

In a heated confrontation with the ideas circulated by the bourgeois ideologists, who regarded socialism as an "exotic plant" and an "import" impossible to assimilate to Romanian conditions, the militants of the Romanian workers movement convincingly demonstrated the legitimacy of socialism in Romania as an objective necessity of the economic situation, the class relations, and the whole evolution of society in Romania.

Having assimilated the Marxist ideas, the Romanian socialists understood from the start that the Marxist theory is no petrified dogma but a dynamic conception constantly enriched with the conclusions from social experience with the various realities of various countries in various periods. When they said their goal

was the same as that of international socialism, the Romanian militants pointed out that "Everyone will use the means to this end that are required by the particular conditions in his country." When the Marxist ideas were publicized, leading representatives of the socialist movement like C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Ioan Nadejde, Raicu Ionescu-Rion, Stefan Stanca, Anton Bacalbasa, Constantin Mille and others wrote dozens of studies that are impressive even today in their effort to apply the Marxist principles creatively to Romanian characteristics. Upon reading one of these studies, one of the programs of the Romanian socialist movement entitled "What Do the Romanian Socialists Want?", Engels expressed a highly significant opinion: "I was very glad to see that the socialists in Romania are adopting in their program the main principles of the theory that has united all the socialists in Europe and America in one group of fighters, namely the theory of my friend, the late Karl Marx."

The founder of scientific socialism knew and devoted special attention to the Romanian people's history and expressed himself on the subject of the unity of the Romanians' territory and their historical continuity in that territory. Marx often stressed the Romanian people's effort to restore their unity by means of the "rebirth of Dacia" and condemned the expansionist policy of the big neighboring empires, praising the "revolutionary spirit" the Romanians displayed in 1848. As contrasted with many historians of the time, Marx understood and explained in his articles the special relationship between the Romanian lands and the Ottoman Empire, namely the always recognized and historically real autonomy that Moldavia and Wallachia enjoyed by virtue of the treaties the Romanian princes concluded with the Ottoman Porte. He accordingly realized that "The Danubian principalities are two sovereign states under the suzerainty of the Porte, to which they pay tribute, but on the condition that the Porte will protect them from all external enemies, whoever they may be, and will not interfere in any way in their internal affairs."

Marx' views on Romanian, which were based on direct knowledge of some leading Pasoptists' activities, include exemplary analyses of some important events and processes in the history of the Romanian people and their struggle for social and national liberation. He decried the Hungarian nobles' policy of oppressing the Romanians, who were the absolute majority of the Transylvanian population, and described the Organic Regulation as a "code of compulsory service" and a pursuit of surplus labor.

In the processes and events of the Romanian people's history, which he admired and valued, Marx saw the makings of a great revolutionary potential, the Romanians' aspirations to a better fate, and their wish to make a new life for themselves, qualities that would become particularly prominent with the rise and development of the workers and revolutionary movement in Romania.

The increasingly close involvement and merger of the two great simultaneous processes, the spread of Marxist ideas and the maturity of the workers movement, in the last decades of the 19th century resulted in more and more labor organizations and later in powerful workers circles of a political nature, which were united in the PSDMR in 1893. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, this was a historically important point in the development of the social struggles in Romania and in the organization of the working class on the national level as well as the beginning of its progress with the main problems that were disturbing the social and political activity of the time."



This event of 90 years ago met the acute need that was felt to create a Marxist general staff of the Romanian proletariat to organize and lead on a national scale the struggle of the working class and the other workers for social justice and freedom and for a world without oppression.

At this distance we are quite justified in stating that the revolutionary party of the Romanian working class fulfilled the great expectations of it by assuming its mission of leading the struggle for acquisition of power by the proletariat and the other urban and rural working masses, for "conversion of all the instruments of labor to the collective ownership of society as a whole," for liberation of the working people from exploitation and oppression, and for "the founding of the socialist society."

The process of progressive political and ideological tempering and maturing of the working class, of intensifying the class struggle and organization, and of strengthening the adherence of the working class to communist ideals was reflected in the formation of the RCP, a moment that was to mark a new and qualitatively higher stage in the development of the workers movement in Romania.

Under its glorious banner the working masses fought fierce battles against the exploiting classes and the fascist danger and for advancement of the ideals of freedom and independence, democratic development of the nation, and fulfillment of the age-old aspirations to social justice and equality. Under the RCP's leadership the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation was won, and the working people became masters in their own country and holders of the state power, opening up a new era in national life, the era of socialist revolution and construction in Romania.

Through the victories won in the revolutionary reform of Romanian society and in construction of the new order, through its practical measures and ways and means of organizing and militating, and through the new conclusions drawn from socio-economic, political and ideological experience, the RCP has been helping to enrich Marxism's treasury of ideas and to develop the theory of socialist and communist construction.

The rich and varied experience acquired in socialist construction in Romania and in other countries as well could not make it any clearer that the creativeness of Marx' theory has its source in its close connection with the consistently revolutionary attitude and objective exploration of social activity. The creative boldness of Marx' theory stems from its capacity for objective analysis of the facts in the endless process of acquiring knowledge, its receptiveness to change, its discovery, comprehension and perception of the new, and its prompt rejection of the old, outmoded concepts.

In every country where it prevails and develops, socialism appears as a profoundly creative and innovating task calling for an effort of social conception based on the unity between theory and practice and between general principles and their specific application. Therefore the conclusion is obvious that "socialist construction must be based both on the general laws and on the economic, social, historical and national realities of each people and each country," as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982. Of course the success of this activity ultimately depends on the

effort to think independently, to understand and act according to realities, and to devise ways and means, by using the theory and method of historical and dialectical materialism, that will conform to the distinctive socioeconomic characteristics of each nation and to the requirements of contemporary civilization.

On the basis of its study of Romania's particular realities and necessities, the RCP developed its policy of building the new order and organized and managed the effort to develop the technical-material base of socialism, to consolidate and generalize socialist production relations, and to raise the workers' living standard. The party's revolutionary course of action is reflected in the effort to promote a wise policy of alliances, in the formation of a single party of the working class, in creating a state sector in the economy by nationalizing the main production means, in the socialist reform of agriculture, in raising the public's level of instruction and culture, and in recognizing socialist industrialization as the only viable way of building a strong modern economy in a short time.

Through an intensive creative effort the RCP succeeded in resolving the complex problems of creating and improving the social order, of permanently eliminating the exploiting classes and social oppression, and of providing for rapid development of the productive forces and radical improvement of the entire people's living and working conditions. Socialist construction showed a steadily rising evolution as socialist social relations were permanently established in all of the nation's social activity. Meanwhile it had to overcome some difficulties and cope with some errors and defects, but in every case the party found in itself the needed strength to overcome the difficulties and to secure the uninterrupted progress of socialist construction in Romania.

In the spirit of materialist dialectics, the RCP regards adoption of the revolutionary theory not as a mere mechanical application of some general principles but as an active, comprehensive process of their creative development on the basis of the facts of experience. Of course we would misconstrue the very nature of Marx' thought if we tried to find answers in his works to all the problems facing mankind today. Marx could not answer questions that history had not yet posed in his time, and his works are no "body of dogmas," intangible and unique, that have exhausted human knowledge once and for all. Scientific socialism offers us a general conception, a mode of thought, and a scientific method of investigating reality.

The RCP acts in the spirit of these major requirements, and the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress is particularly significant in that respect, being the period of some impressive innovations, of some far-reaching and long-range actions for all-around improvement of party and state activity, and of the adoption of some broad developmental programs based upon knowledge and observance of the objective social laws and upon conversion of the theory of scientific socialism to a veritable force to involve the working class and the broad masses in the task of building the fully developed socialist society. By completely combining in its activity its deep devotion to the ideas of scientific socialism, its far-sightedness, and its firm resolve to promote the aspirations of its own people with its ability to discern the social laws, to grasp the new and to create a broad field for its implementation, the RCP and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu helped to revitalize theoretical thought, to find new solutions to

the problems presented by socialist construction, and to activate an innovating, profoundly dialectical trend of thought based on comprehensive scientific analysis of the internal and international realities. It can be truly believed that there is no field or major problem of socialist construction in Romania or of the evolution of international affairs without the RCP's militant theoretical-ideological analysis and its contribution, always open to the analytical spirit, to the scope of realistic judgment.

The Romanian people's great achievements in construction of the fully developed socialist society unquestionably incorporate all of the party's theoretical and political work and its experience as a tried leader in the task of building the new order in Romania and as an active detachment of the international communist and workers movement. The unabated effort of the party and its secretary general to keep studying the all-inclusive revolutionary process and to harmonize, stage by stage, the political policy with the requirements of the nation's social development is based on the fact that the viability and correctness of the policy lies in the realism of the initiatives and measures and in the ability to act creatively on behalf of social development.

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## BRIEFS

NEW PROTOCOL CHIEF--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Ecobescu is relieved of his position as chief of state protocol in the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Comrade Vasile Nicolciciu is appointed chief of state protocol in the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 34, 11 May 83 p 3]

NEW PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Mihail Tenea is relieved of his position as deputy minister and director general of the General Directorate for Construction-Installation in the Foreign Construction Department and is appointed counselor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 17 May 83 p 2]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Iulian Plostinaru is relieved of his position as chairman of the Committee for Problems of People's Councils and Comrade Stefan Mocuta is appointed chairman of this committee. Comrade Vasile Bumbacea is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee. Comrade Gheorghe Cioara is relieved of his position as minister state secretary in the National Council for Science and Technology and Comrade Emilian Dobrescu is appointed minister state secretary in the National Council for Science and Technology. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 37, 19 May 83 p 3]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioachim Moga is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Cluj County Peoples Council. Comrade Ion Anastasiu is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Tulcea County Peoples Council. Comrade Dorina Timis is appointed vice chairman of the Arad County Peoples Council. Comrade Manole Comanici, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Galati County, is appointed vice chairman of the executive committee of the Galati County Peoples Council. Comrade Eugen Florescu is appointed vice chairman of the executive committee of the Timis County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 37, 19 May 83 p 3]

## CAUSES OF ARGUMENTATIVENESS SUBJECT OF SURVEY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1687, 1 May 83  
pp 21-23

[Article by Slavoljub Djukic: "Why We Squabble"]

[Text] The English philosopher and humanist Bertrand Russell said in an essay that if the bureaucrats were allowed to pull their bosses by the ear at least once a week or "tell them everything to their face," the nervous tension of bureaucrats would be suddenly relieved, and human relations would become more supportable.

Russell explains people's behavior in terms of their position: let us pull the boss by the ear, let us liberate our personality, and everything will be different! But what if the conditions are created for pulling the boss by the ear, as in our case, and indeed it goes beyond that (one [enterprise] director was thrown out of a factory over a fence), and still the nervous tension is not relieved? To what extent is people's behavior really conditioned by their social status and welfare, and to what extent are the subconscious or what we simply call our mentality operative? Finally, can a quarrel be useful to wholesome human relations?

## Is It Harmful To Quarrel

Even the very question--Can a quarrel be useful?--divided those we talked with: "Silence leads nowhere. A healthy dialogue which turns into a 'quarrel' is a step in the right direction" (Ante Andrijevic, worker, 44, Blato); "A quarrel always leads to a deterioration of relations and endless disputes" (Milorad Tacovac, sales executive, 54, Novi Sad); "The trouble is not that people quarrel, but that it usually doesn't lead anywhere" (Ivan Carija, retired military man, 64, Split).

Some people think that conflicts are a natural element of progress, while for others a "quarrel" has an exclusively negative connotation. One can conclude from a thorough reading of the responses that usually there is a terminological misunderstanding and confusion of two completely different concepts: [illegible] on the one hand and inevitable conflict of interests, which represents the culture of self-management and its democratic expression on the other. Disputes are, of course, inevitable: the question remains in what

atmosphere the conflict takes place. Since we often reduce disputes to personal intolerance, let the chips fall where they may, when the dispute is not won with arguments, but literally by the person who is stronger and louder, public conflict is often seen as a drama with all the adverse consequences.

What usually brings about bad blood in human relations? "Material antagonism," was the succinct answer of an engineer from Belgrade among a number of answers in which distribution of personal incomes was singled out as one of the main elements of the good or bad atmosphere in collectives.

#### Evaluation of Human Relations in the Workplace, in percentage

| <u>Indicator</u>   | <u>Public at Large</u> | <u>Workers</u> |
|--------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Very bad           | 6                      | 5              |
| More bad than good | 7                      | 16             |
| Average            | 35                     | 44             |
| More good than bad | 32                     | 30             |
| Very good          | 20                     | 5              |

When people get a raise in their income and we ask them whether they are satisfied, they will usually say that they are, of course, satisfied. But when they are told how much their pay has been increased, there is a real uproar. This is a typical psychological test which tells more about human nature and moral relativism than about justice.

Often people are not filled with anger because they have low pay, but because their sense of justice has been offended, and this is one of the deepest human feelings. We are able to bring down the heavens because of 1 dinar, since we feel that we are personally injured and underestimated, that our work has not been assessed at its true value. Not only should pay be good, but it must also be good in relative terms, relative to the person with whom we compare ourselves.

Remuneration according to work is a great need and desire of ours in stimulating vitality and ambition. Unfortunately, in most cases this is an unfulfilled desire. It is more a proclamation than reality, one that is used to explain many disagreements and bad dispositions. Instead of expressing work, enthusiasm and effort of the human spirit, often remuneration depends on the balance of power or on the accidental set of circumstances in which the income is realized and in which distribution takes place. "Often remuneration depends on what people think of themselves, and not on what the world around thinks of them. Under those circumstances self-love and a high opinion of one's own abilities holds sway," a lawyer from Maribor said with resignation.

#### The Strength of Groupish Solidarity

Groupishness and human selfishness are mentioned most frequently together with distribution as the reason for bad human relations: "People go for their goal regardless, acquisitive in their demands and stimulated by the absence of firm moral standards and performance criteria that would put everyone in his place"

(technician, Split, 32); "We talk about the people who have power in society and within collectives, but the greatest power is the group, which is usually invisible, but it is present everywhere" (office worker, Krusevac, 45).

By the logic of superiors and subordinates there are cases of conventional arbitrariness by individuals. However, a man left to himself and his tyrannical attitude has trouble surviving without support of those around him. His main point of support is a loyal group and the nurturing of the personal relation in evaluating people. The group raises people up, casts them to their knees, makes something of this person and nothing of that one, but it does all this with means that are not easy to finger. The bosses whom we accuse of usurpation are often "'only' playing the role which has been given them," imposed from outside, and which has been taken up voluntarily since there was no other way out. "Often they are a cover for someone else's will, and sometimes they are not even aware of this. The power which they have is guided by invisible forces" (teacher, 38, Zemun).

Wherever one group is created, normally another is created as well, if not more. Where there are groups, there will also be constant, but disguised conflict, even when no one raises his voice and when life seems to be proceeding harmoniously. When sides are taken, one can predict with mathematical accuracy who is who and what is what, who is with whom and who will support whom. "The essential thing is who is involved, and not what the issue is. That is why those who operate through groups understand each other perfectly although usually they do not make agreements" (political scientist, 52, Zagreb).

#### People With Power, But Without Authority

It is striking that in this survey there is quite a bit of talk about idleness and pressures as a special form of usurpation and as "factors poisoning the atmosphere in the workplace." Does this mean that everything has been said that there was to say about conventional tyranny, or do people think that we do not sufficiently emphasize idleness and pressures in describing the collective consciousness?

Here are a few typical answers:

"If power is subject to deformations, then it can be abused by whoever holds it, and that may also be a man who does not have a high title in the collective, but he has the power of his vote when decisions are being made" (Ph.D. in the social sciences, Belgrade, 35); "Pressures unfortunately always work" (schoolteacher, 37, Uzicka Pozega); "Everyone knows about the rebel from Bijelo Polje, the newspapers give him publicity. So far he has sent out thousands of petitions, but actually he is the worst idler of all" (Masan Boskovic, economist, 47, Bijelo Polje).

If groupishness is difficult to prove, it is easy to identify idlers and people who attain their ambitions by means of pressure, but it is difficult to get the better of them. We talk about them with anger, but we also helplessly throw up our hands. Aggressive, often morally insensitive, with unsatisfied ambitions and modest work capabilities, they enter into a war with "the whole

world," sometimes deliberately, sometimes led by invisible forces and errors. They issue accusations, they make trouble for those around them, they raise up the entire collective in the name of self-management and compel it to depart from essential relations, which leaves scars that are difficult to heal. If these are not neurotic and asocial individuals, then usually it is a question of pressure as a method of attaining certain goals.

We know everything, we see everything, but usually we are silent. "That damned silence!" is a phrase which our researchers recorded several times in conversations on human relations as an echo of a disposition we revolt against in our hearts, but we hold back from confronting it publicly.

Why are people silent at a moment when they are expected to speak out at the top of their voices? "Everyone remembers and everyone gives tit for tat" (Slavica Spasic, secretary, 23, Belgrade); "The sparks fly when a truth is uttered which affects people" (pensioner, 58, Kanjiza); "Often not much can be achieved by being silent, but at least one can survive" (Jelena Tranar, economist, 49, Domzale); "I simply get sick of chasing after people when I know that usually the truth is weak" (economist, Skoplje, 40).

#### That Damned Silence

In the tradition of political theory opportunism means establishing ties with powerful people and using them to achieve one's own goals. But that is not the whole of it. The scientist reminds us that every man "has in his heart a dozing temporizer." Some people are more courageous, some less, some have a larger base of support and thereby security, some a smaller one.

There are various types of opportunism. Basically this is a philosophy of gain, one whose goal is to preserve what has been attained or to guarantee progress or to avoid getting repaid in kind by not holding a grudge. Indeed cowardice itself is not something a man arrives at solely on the basis of his assessment that this is personally the most advantageous. More often it is a bitter awareness that the wall is harder than his head and that perhaps people are willing to break their head two or three times, but no more than that.

Unfortunately, experience often indicates suggestively that adaptation is more decisive in life than serious effort, that few people have succeeded by constantly revealing shortcomings, and more have succeeded by keeping silent at the right time and by preaching surefire sermons. That is the way people behave.

People's attitude in life depends above all on their social standing and well-being. Nor can the psychological aspect be ignored. Man as he is, with his features, impulsive, good-natured, neurotic, equable, selfish, jealous, aggressive, modest and narcissoid, such a person will certainly have an influence on conditions in his community.

## Portrait of a Neurotic

To what extent are people able to take command of their actions? What exerts pressure on our subconscious? What brings people together and what drives them further apart when friendship is a vital need, that usually has more the effect that they gain enemies instead of friends? In seeking an answer, we are dealing with complicated human nature, which feels the need for love, material possessions, for understanding, for security, for power and for glory. And when we think that a man has everything, we discover a desert in his soul, loneliness, dissatisfaction, which makes a man deeply unhappy, aggressive, an "impossible man," as we customarily put it.

Every quarrel, says the psychiatrist Vladimir Levi, is a model of a large-scale war. A chain reaction of mutual misunderstanding spreads distrust and anger: malice is encountered with malice. If someone were to talk calmly with the parties to the quarrel and attempted to get to the heart of the matter, it would turn out that in most cases the subject of the quarrel is not worth even raising one's voice. In explaining this opinion of his, the scientist says that the people who come to him are, of course, "disturbed people," whose behavior departs pathologically from the generally accepted norms. But most of his patients are quite "ordinary people," who do not distinguish themselves by oddities. We call them neurotics. These are people who have difficulty controlling themselves and whose spiritual powers are out of joint with their own goals and with reality. These were at one time wonderful people, intelligent, brave, hard-working and penetrating. But if we wanted to make an artillery regiment from them, they would insist on being paratroopers or something else.

Vladimir Levi portrays a particular kind of man whom we all know and who exists in virtually every community. This is a man who by his attitude causes others to have a heart attack, but he himself is bursting with health and mental stability: "In most cases these are people with a healthy constitution, with high muscle tone, people who without any brains to spare do a good job of nourishing centers of self-confidence and aggressiveness. Such a person is by no means obsessed with a desire to direct rough treatment precisely against you; he may not even realize what he is doing. This is, if you like, his talent, he is following the precepts of his nature." But, Levi adds, as you are talking to such a person, you involuntarily feel a tensing up of the skeletal muscles and an unpleasant feeling of contraction of the blood vessels: "Such people ought to have a red light hanging over them!"

Our survey shows that "quarrelsome people" often do not get along well, but neither will they "fall in action." It is an extremely important fact that most of the respondents "are able to freely express dissatisfaction or disagreement both with their colleagues and with their superiors," which is evidence of a liberated personality. Obviously in this case the problem is not to say, but to do what is suitable.

The key question is how to establish order that is democratic and conforms to self-management, order which presupposes respect for the principle of equality when decisions are being made and adherence to an agreement which we have

jointly accepted, knowing that as a whole it suits everyone, but that in certain situations it could suit some more and others less. The problem is general, but also personal. One link in the chain lies within man, the scientist reminds us, while the other is outside him. All of this is intertwined and, seemingly, illogical, but everything is at the same time firmly dependent and linked.

[Results of the Survey\*]

Reasons for Bad Blood, in percentage

| <u>Indicator</u>                                      | <u>Public at Large</u> | <u>Workers</u> |
|---|------------------------|----------------|
| Unclear criteria for distribution of personal incomes | 55                     | 28             |
| Human selfishness and groupishness                    | 28                     | 33             |
| False solidarity with idlers                          | 16                     | 12             |
| Arbitrariness of supervisory personnel                | 13                     | 14             |
| Formal self-management                                | 13                     | 5              |
| Envy  | 11                     | 2              |
| Job dissatisfaction                                   | 10                     | 3              |
| The human factor                                      | 8                      | 3              |
| Disagreement between age groups                       | 8                      | 0              |
| Other   | 13                     | 0              |

Freedom To Express Dissatisfaction and Disagreement, in percentage

| <u>Indicator</u>                                 | <u>Public at Large</u> | <u>Workers</u> |
|--|------------------------|----------------|
| Neither with my colleagues nor with my superiors | 18                     | 19             |
| With my colleagues, but not with my superiors    | 14                     | 24             |
| Not with my colleagues, but with my superiors    | 4                      | 0              |
| With both my colleagues and with my superiors    | 64                     | 58             |

Benefit From Quarrels, percentage

| <u>Indicator</u>  | <u>Public at Large</u> | <u>Workers</u> |
|---|------------------------|----------------|
| A quarrel always tends to deteriorate relations                             | 50                     | 63             |
| When people give vent to their feelings, they understand one another better | 50                     | 37             |

\* The survey was conducted by Ljuba Stojic and coworkers: M. Milanko, S. Tamindzic, K. Hajn, Lj. Janicic, D. Babovic and M. Toskovic.



Attitude Toward Those Who Are Quarrelsome, in percentage

| <u>Indicator</u>                          | <u>Public at Large</u> | <u>Workers</u> |
|---|------------------------|----------------|
| They are silenced                         | 64                     | 51             |
| It usually turns out the way they want it | 22                     | 12             |
| No set pattern                            | 14                     | 30             |
| No answer                                 | 0                      | 7              |

The percentages in the column marked "Public at Large" were obtained by the usual telephone survey conducted by NIN, based on 100 numbers randomly selected from the telephone directories of all the republics and provinces in proportion to the number of households in them. The second column, entitled "Workers," represents the answers given to the same question by workers of a large work organization in the metals industry in Belgrade (about 50 persons polled at their work station).

Half of the "workers" were production personnel, and the other specialists and office workers. Among the "public at large" there was also a high majority of employed persons (four-fifths), but their composition was considerably different--there were very few production workers (only 8 percent), and the bulk was made up of specialists and office workers. We should emphasize among the most important differences between these two groups of respondents that the "workers" were mostly under age 30, while the "public at large" were mostly middle-aged and elderly.

The principal source of bad blood for the public at large was distribution of personal incomes, while among the workers groupishness and selfishness came out ahead of all other reasons. The high percentages of those who feel free to express their disagreement or dissatisfaction in the workplace, both in the public at large and among workers, are encouraging. In this respect there are no noticeable differences between the workers and public at large.

But differences do occur in the answers to the question about the possible benefit of the quarrel: the public at large was divided into two equal portions, but the workers are against quarrels with almost a two-thirds majority. Likewise on the question of how quarrelsome people fare, the assessments differ. A majority of both the workers and the public at large feel that quarrelsome people do not succeed in "getting their way," but the workers are considerably more restrained and more frequently choose the answer "No set pattern."

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